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(Dec<sup>r</sup> 29<sup>th</sup> 1862)

THE NEW  
“ E X A M E N ”

“ He has written an incomparable book. He has written something better, perhaps, than the best history; but he has not written a good history; he is, from the first chapter to the last, an inventor.”  
—LORD MACAULAY'S *Miscell. Writings*, vol. i. p. 233 [1828].

THE NEW  
“ EXAMEN ”

OR

AN INQUIRY INTO THE EVIDENCE

RELATING TO CERTAIN

PASSAGES IN LORD MACAULAY'S HISTORY

CONCERNING

- I. THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH
- II. THE MASSACRE OF GLENCOE
- III. THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND
- IV. VISCOUNT DUNDEE
- V. WILLIAM PENN


BY

JOHN PAGET

BARRISTER-AT-LAW

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS  
EDINBURGH AND LONDON  
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TO

THE RIGHT HON. SIR JOHN M'NEILL, G.C.B.

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MY DEAR SIR JOHN,—

Dedications are out of fashion, but I feel that the publication of the following pages requires a few words of explanation, and I prefer addressing them to you, to adopting the more ordinary form of a preface.

For this I have two reasons. In the first place, I am desirous to connect an attempt, however humble, to vindicate the fair fame of departed greatness with the name of one to whose undaunted love of truth England owed so much in a recent crisis of her fortunes. The second reason is more personal to myself. It was impossible for me to

recur so frequently as I have done in the following pages to the Highlands, without a constant remembrance of the honour which you, like so many others, have conferred upon the land of your ancestors, of your birth, and of your strongest and most abiding affections ; nor could I forget that it is to your kindness and to your friendship that I owe my familiarity with a country, where, in your society, I have passed many of the most agreeable days of my life, and garnered up recollections which are a source of constant enjoyment.

The following Essays were, as you know, with the exception of one (that on Viscount Dundee), published during the lifetime of the eminent historian to whose writings they refer. The sudden and melancholy event which threw a gloom over society—which closed for ever one of the brightest sources of intellectual enjoyment, and left the highest place in the world of letters vacant, without a successor—has, however, as it appears to me, made no



difference in the duty of one who seeks merely to advocate the cause of truth. It was not without great hesitation, nor until after a most careful examination of the evidence, that I ventured at last to express my conviction of the errors into which Lord Macaulay's *History* was likely to lead those who placed an implicit reliance upon his representations. Of this number I frankly confess myself originally to have been one. Sharing in his opinions, sympathising in his feelings, and sincerely attached to that party in politics of which he was so brilliant an ornament, I permitted myself to be carried away by the eloquent torrent of his declamation; and it was not without many a struggle that I found myself compelled, by a dry examination of facts, to surrender the illusion by which I had been enthralled. The following pages are the result of this examination. I have confined myself to five instances. Three relate to men who played prominent and important parts, and who have left their impress distinctly marked on history. One relates to

an event which throws much light upon the character of William,—which excited strongly the sympathies and passions of the day, with regard to which the evidence is remarkably full, and the duty of the historian to hold the balance with a steady hand, and to award his judgment with strict impartiality, is peculiarly imperative. The remaining one refers to a country, a people, and a condition of society which might naturally have been supposed to possess a singular interest for Lord Macaulay. I have done little more than examine, carefully and honestly, the various authorities. The issues are of a kind upon which every man of ordinary capacity, when he has the evidence before him, is competent to form a judgment. How far the result may be such as to induce an exercise of caution in receiving Lord Macaulay's statements, and adopting his conclusions as to other matters, is a question which every reader must determine for himself. After the lapse of more than a century and

a half, such inquiries should be freed from the passions which naturally biased the judgments of contemporary historians. Genius and heroism are the heritage of no party. Tory slanders against Marlborough, and Whig calumnies against Dundee, should be buried beneath the stately mausoleum at Blenheim and the green turf of the peaceful kirkyard at Blair-Athole. It is not as Tories or as Whigs, but as Englishmen and Scotsmen, that we inherit the benefits conferred upon us by the victorious career of the one, and the bright example of courage and fidelity to a falling cause bequeathed to us by the other. It is not as members of this or that communion, but as men sharing in the common feelings of religion and humanity, that we respect the pure life of the Quaker Penn, and execrate the atrocities which stained the valley of Glencoe with innocent blood.

If the following pages should assist even a few inquirers after truth, and remove some obstacles from their path in the course of an investigation

which I have found not unattended with a certain amount of labour, it is all that I desire. I can, at any rate, say that I have pursued that inquiry honestly, and that I have furnished every means of testing my accuracy.

I remain, my dear Sir John, with every feeling of respect and attachment,

Very faithfully yours,

JOHN PAGET.

LONDON, 1861.

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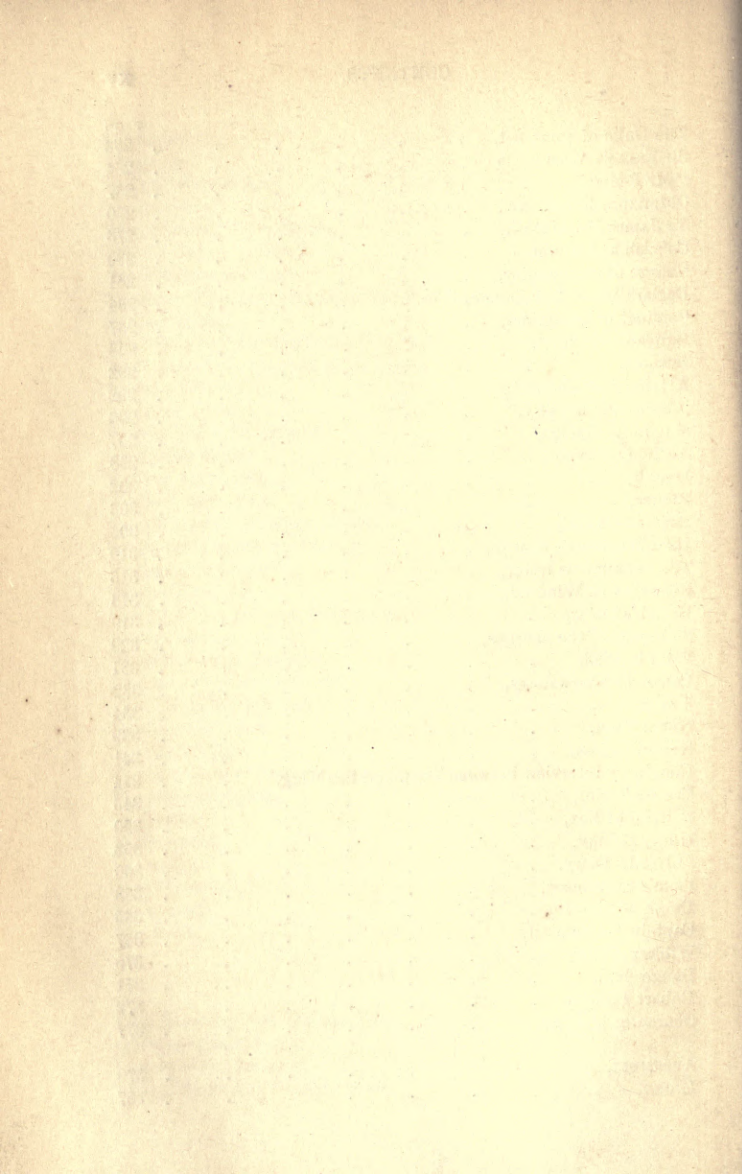
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# THE NEW "EXAMEN," &c.

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## I.

### LORD MACAULAY AND MARLBOROUGH.<sup>1</sup>

THE peculiar charm of Lord Macaulay's writings arises from the fact that his vivid imagination enables him to live for the time amongst those whose portraits he paints. The persons of his drama are not cold abstractions summoned up from the past to receive judgment for deeds done in the flesh; they are living men and women—beings to be loved or hated, feared or despised, with all the fervency which belongs to Lord Macaulay's character. The attention of the reader is excited, his sympathies are awakened, his passions are aroused; he devours page after page and volume after volume with an appetite

<sup>1</sup> *Blackwood's Magazine*, June 1859.

similar to that which attends upon the perusal of the most stirring fiction ; he closes the book with regret, and then, and not till then, comes the reflection that he has been listening to the impassioned harangue of the advocate, not to the calm summing-up of the judge. It would be well if this were the worst. We are reluctantly convinced that Lord Macaulay sometimes exceeds even the privileges of the advocate ; that when he arraigns a culprit before the tribunal of public opinion, and showers down upon him that terrible invective of which he is so accomplished a master, evidence occasionally meets with a treatment at his hands from which the least scrupulous practitioner at the bar would shrink. Documents are suppressed, dates transposed, witnesses of the most infamous character are paraded as pure and unimpeachable, and even forgotten and anonymous slanders, of the foulest description, are revived and cast on the unhappy object of the historian's wrath.

It is often difficult, and sometimes impossible, to divine what particular qualities will arouse Lord Macaulay's animosity. The virtues which receive the tribute of admiration and respect

when they are found in one man, appear to excite nothing but contempt when they are met with in another ; and, in like manner, the vices which in one are venial transgressions, chargeable rather on the age than on the individual, become disgraceful offences or foul crimes in another.

An example of this occurs in his treatment of the domestic irregularities of James and William.

Both those monarchs were unfaithful to their wives. Lord Macaulay records the “ highly criminal ” passion of James for Arabella Churchill and for Catharine Sedley, sneering contemptuously at the plain features of the one and the lean form and haggard countenance of the other,<sup>1</sup> but forgetting the charms recorded in the memoirs of Grammont as those to which the former owed her power, and whilst admitting the talents which the latter inherited from her father, denying any capacity in the King to appreciate them. William, on the other hand, married to a young, beautiful, and faithful wife, to whose devotion he owed a crown, in return for which she only asked the affection which he

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. 1853, pp. 34, 322-4. Vol. i. 8vo, p. 459; ii. p. 69.

had withheld for years, maintained, during the whole of his married life, an illicit connection with Elizabeth Villiers (who squinted abominably),<sup>1</sup> upon whom he settled an estate of £25,000 a-year,<sup>2</sup> making her brother a peer, whose wife he introduced to the confidence of the Queen,<sup>3</sup> and Lord Macaulay passes it over as an instance of the commerce of superior minds!<sup>4</sup> In James, conjugal infidelity is a coarse and degrading vice; in William, it is an intellectual indulgence, hardly deserving serious reprehension. In like manner, the inroads upon law attempted by James, under the mask of a regard for the rights of conscience, are justly and unsparingly denounced; whilst the ambition which urged William, by the cruel means of domestic unkindness, to fix his grasp prospec-

<sup>1</sup> "I think the devil was in it the other day, that I should talk to her of an ugly squinting cousin of her's, and the poor lady herself, you know, squints like a dragon."—*Swift to Stella*, Oct. 28, 1712.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal to Stella*, Sept. 15, 1712, note. Vol. xv. p. 318. Nichol's Edition, 1808.

<sup>3</sup> "Edward Villiers, afterwards

"successively created Baron Villiers and Earl of Jersey, was in high favour with King William, to whom his sister Elizabeth was mistress, and at the same time his lady enjoyed the confidence of Queen Mary."—COXE, vol. i. p. 34, note.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. vii. p. 96, 1858; vol. iv. p. 471, 8vo; vol. ii. p. 174.



tively on the crown of England, long before any necessity for such an invasion of the constitution had arisen, is wise foresight, regard for religious freedom, the interests of Protestantism, and the attainment of the great object of his life — the curbing the exorbitant power of France.<sup>1</sup>

Lord Macaulay's Whiggism sometimes affords a clue to his historical predilections. It is easy to understand why he should take pleasure in perpetuating, in the most exaggerated form of hostile tradition, every story, however apochryphal, that can tarnish the gallantry and fidelity of Dundee, and in repeating, after reiterated confutation, every groundless slander upon William Penn. But this is not always a safe guide. In one instance, and that the most remarkable of all, the case is the very reverse. By a strange caprice, the man whom Lord Macaulay especially delights to dishonour is the very one whose genius shed most honour

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 172, 178, 179, to part played by Burnett in this transaction comes out more 190, *passim*, 8vo; Burnett, vol. iii. p. 129; notes by Swift and plainly in his own narrative Lord Dartmouth, *ib.*, 130. 131. than in Lord Macaulay's brilliant paraphrase. The useful and discreditable

on the Whig party, who contributed more perhaps than any other to place William upon the throne, but for whom the landing at Torbay might not improbably have been followed by a similar result to that at Lyme, and whose imperishable glory (a glory which has made his name second only, if indeed it be second, to that of Wellington in the annals of England) is derived from his long and successful contest with that power, to curb which William had devoted every energy of his mind.

Brilliant as were the services rendered by Marlborough to his country, grand as was his genius, great and many as were his virtues, public and private, that regard for truth which we are about to vindicate as the quality most essential of all to the historian, compels us to admit that he did not walk, from the age of sixteen to sixty-four, through all the mazes of politics and revolutions, of war and of courts, in an age the most profligate in morals, public and private, that England has seen—rising from the humble post of carrying a pair of colours to the very summit of earthly power—without contracting some stains of the vices prevalent, it



might almost be said universal, in his day. Making the most ample allowance for this, enough remains to make every true Englishman look to Marlborough with pride, reverence, and affection; and, moved by these feelings, we shall proceed to discharge our share of a duty we feel incumbent on all honest men, by removing some at least of the dirt which has been so plentifully and so unscrupulously cast upon the Great Captain by Lord Macaulay.

Lord Macaulay's picture of the youth of Marlborough is sufficiently repulsive. He was, he says, so illiterate, that "he could not spell the most common words in his own language."<sup>1</sup> He was "thrifty in his very vices, and levied ample contributions on ladies enriched by the spoils of more liberal lovers."<sup>2</sup> He was "kept by the most profuse, imperious, and shameless of harlots."<sup>3</sup> He subsisted upon "the infamous wages bestowed upon him by the Duchess of Cleveland."<sup>4</sup> He was "insatiable of riches."<sup>5</sup> He "was one of the few who have in the bloom of youth loved lucre more

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 34, 1858.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 515.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 517.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

“ than wine or women, and who have, at the  
 “ height of greatness, loved lucre more than power  
 “ or fame.”<sup>1</sup> “ All the precious gifts which na-  
 “ ture had lavished upon him, he valued chiefly  
 “ for what they would fetch.”<sup>2</sup> “ At twenty he  
 “ made money of his beauty and his vigour ;  
 “ at sixty he made money of his genius and  
 “ his glory ;”<sup>3</sup> and he “ owed his rise in life to  
 “ his sister’s shame.”<sup>4</sup>

With regard to the want of a liberal education, which, by the way, is a charge rather against his father than against himself, it is sufficient to observe that he was educated at St Paul’s school, and that his despatches show that, at any rate, he was a proficient in Latin, French, and English composition.<sup>5</sup> He appears, however, to have passed through his school course, as the Duke of Wellington afterwards did at Eton, without distinction. A competitive examination would probably have excluded both from the army, and the result of Blenheim and Waterloo might have been reversed. He owed more to nature than to

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. 8vo, p. 438.

ii. p. 255, 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> ALISON’S *Life of Marl-*

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

*borough*, vol. i. p. 3; COXE, 1,

<sup>4</sup> Vol. ii. p. 515, 1858. Vol. 2, 3.

schoolmasters, and Bolingbroke truly summed up his character in the fewest possible words, when he said that he was “the perfection of genius “matured by experience.”<sup>1</sup>

Plunged at a very early age into the dissipations of the court of Charles II., his remarkably handsome person and his engaging manners soon attracted notice. For the loathsome imputation cast upon him by Lord Macaulay, that he availed himself of these advantages for the purposes which he intimates—that he bore to the wealthy and licentious ladies of the court the relation which Tom Jones did to Lady Bellaston—we can discover no foundation even in the scandalous chronicles of those scandalous days. That he did not bring to the court of Charles the virtue which made the overseer of Potiphar’s household famous in that of Pharaoh, must be freely admitted. The circumstances of his intrigue with the Duchess of Cleveland are recorded in the pages of Grammont.<sup>2</sup> Never, says Hamilton, were her charms in greater perfection than when she cast her eyes on the young officer of the Guards. That Churchill, in the bloom of

<sup>1</sup> ALISON, vol. ii. p. 387.

<sup>2</sup> P. 279, 280—4to. 1783.

youth, should be insensible to the passion which he had awaked in the breast of the most beautiful woman of that voluptuous court, was hardly to be expected. He incurred, in consequence, the displeasure of the King, who forbade him the court. Far be it from us to be the advocates of lax morality ; but Churchill must be judged by the standard of his day. He corrupted no innocence ; he invaded no domestic peace. The Duchess of Cleveland was not only the most beautiful, but she was also the most licentious and the most inconstant of women. From the King down to Jacob Hall she dispensed her favours according to the passion or the fancy of the moment. She was as liberal of her purse as of her person, and Marlborough, a needy and handsome ensign, no doubt shared both. But it is a mere misuse of language to charge Churchill with receiving “ infamous wages,” or to say that he was “ kept by the most “ profuse, imperious, and shameless of harlots,” because he entertained a daring and successful passion for the beautiful mistress of his King.

Of two stories which are current with regard to this amour, Lord Macaulay accepts one and rejects the other. The first is, that upon one oc-

casion the King surprised Churchill in the apartment of the Duchess, upon which the lover saved the honour of his mistress (such as it was) by leaping from the window. With regard to this, it is sufficient to say that Hamilton, who must have known the story, if true, and who would have been delighted to tell it, is silent. The other is, that Marlborough, in his prosperity, refused a small loan to the Duchess. This story Lord Macaulay very properly rejects. He had good reason to suspect its falsehood, for it is told by his own witness, the authoress of *The New Atalantis*, whose filthy pages, full of imputations upon William, even more foul than those upon Marlborough, Lord Macaulay has honoured by transferring from them to his own, in some cases almost word for word, the abuse for heaping which upon the great Whig General she was paid by the Tories. Little do the readers of Lord Macaulay suspect that his eloquent denunciation of Marlborough is but a *rechauffé* of the forgotten scurrility of a female hack scribe, whom Swift used to call one of his "under spur-leathers."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the history of "Count is too long, and part of it wholly unfit, for quotation. Any reader whose curiosity may lead Fortunatus," *New Atalantis*, vol. i. p. 21, to p. 43. The passage

Such is the history of the amour of Churchill with the Duchess of Cleveland. But a pure and ennobling attachment, to which he remained faithful till the grave closed over him, soon dispelled his passion for the lovely and inconstant Duchess. This cold, sordid profligate—for such Lord Macaulay would fain persuade us he was—married, at the age of eight-and-twenty, a beautiful and penniless girl, after an engagement prolonged by the poverty of both parties.

To judge of the animus which pervades the whole of Lord Macaulay's account of Marlborough, it is only necessary to observe the mode in which, with regard to him, he treats the passions and the virtues which, through all ages, have been most certain to awaken the sympathies and secure the respect and attachment of mankind.

Lord Macaulay's intimate acquaintance, if not with human nature, at any rate with the writings of those who, in all ages and all languages, have most deeply stirred the heart of man, might

him to verify our assertion may compare p. 27 with Macaulay, vol. ii. 8vo, 1856, p. 254, containing the account of Marlborough's marriage, and pp. 26, 31, 41, and 43, with vol. i. pp. 457, 458, and vol. ii. pp. 251, 252, 253.



have told him that the tale of young passionate love mellowing into deep and tender affection, living on linked to eternity, stronger than death and deeper than the grave, was fitly the object of feelings far different from those which it appears to awaken in his breast. It is a singular fact that two of the most vigorous writers of the English language appear to be in total ignorance of all the feelings which take their rise from the passion of love. We know of no single line that has fallen from the pen of Swift, or from that of Lord Macaulay, which indicates any sympathy with that passion which affords in the greater number of minds the most powerful of all motives. The love of Churchill and Sarah Jennings seems to inspire Lord Macaulay with much the same feelings as those with which a certain personage, whom Dr Johnson used to call "the first Whig," regarded the happiness of our first parents in the garden of Eden. It is difficult to say whether the following passage is more distinguished by bad feeling or bad taste—by malignant insinuation or jingling antithesis :—

"He must have been enamoured indeed. For

“ he had little property, except the annuity  
“ which he had bought with the infamous wages  
“ bestowed on him by the Duchess of Cleve-  
“ land : he was insatiable of riches : Sarah  
“ was poor ; and a plain girl with a large for-  
“ tune was proposed to him. His love, after a  
“ struggle, prevailed over his avarice : marriage  
“ only strengthened his passion ; and, to the  
“ last hour of his life, Sarah enjoyed the plea-  
“ sure and distinction of being the one human  
“ being who was able to mislead that farsighted  
“ and surefooted judgment, who was fervently  
“ loved by that cold heart, and who was ser-  
“ vilely feared by that intrepid spirit.”<sup>1</sup>

Such is the language in which Lord Macaulay speaks of a love, as constant and fervent as any recorded in the pages of history, or even of fiction. Marlborough's letters, written to his wife in the decline of life, and at the summit of his fame, breathe a passion as warm, a tenderness as devoted, as that which inspired the young and ardent lover to brave that poverty which Lord Macaulay asserts was “ the earthly  
“ evil he most dreaded ”<sup>2</sup> to win her hand ; and

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 517 ; 1858.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.



years after his death, when that hand was sought in second wedlock by the Duke of Somerset, she replied, "If I were young and handsome as I was, instead of old and faded as I am, and you could lay the empire of the world at my feet, you should never share the heart and hand that once belonged to John Duke of Marlborough."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ALISON'S *Life of Marlborough*, vol. ii. p. 318. Lord Macaulay makes a foul and groundless insinuation against the Duchess in relation to her interview with Shrewsbury in 1690, on the subject of the provision for the Princess Anne. His words are as follows:—"After some inferior agents had expostulated with her in vain, Shrewsbury waited on her. It might have been expected that his intervention would have been successful; for if the scandalous chronicle of those times could be trusted, *he had stood high, too high, in her favour.*"\* No one ought to know better than Lord Macaulay that Sarah Jennings passed through the ordeal of the court of Charles the Second with a reputation perfectly unsullied; that no breath of scandal ever tainted the purity of her character. Yet he makes this infamous imputation on no better authority than a doggrel lampoon, entitled "The Female Nine." We have bestowed no small amount of labour in the endeavour to discover this forgotten trash, but without success. We have exhausted all sources of information (and they have not been few) open to us; and we shall feel greatly indebted to any reader who may be able to direct us where we can obtain a sight of the "contemporary lampoon" which Lord Macaulay considers sufficiently trustworthy to entitle him to cast a slur upon the character of a woman who, whatever other faults she might have, has up to this time borne an unsullied

\* Vol. iii. p. 565, 8vo.

That the passion of James for Arabella Churchill smoothed the early steps in her brother's path to fame, may be admitted. "Cela  
"était dans l'ordre," is the remark of Hamilton;<sup>1</sup>

reputation for a virtue rare in that age and that court. Lord Macaulay, when he penned this sentence, had before him (for he refers to it) the evidence that at this time Shrewsbury was not even on visiting terms with the Duchess. (See her narrative, p. 33.) Lord Macaulay calls the Duchess "*an abandoned liar*," and says that, "with that habitual inaccuracy which, even when she has no motive for lying, makes it necessary to read every word written by her with suspicion, she creates Shrewsbury a duke, and represents herself as calling him 'Your Grace.' He was not made a duke till 1694" (note, vol. iii. p. 565). The Duchess does nothing of the kind. The "habitual inaccuracy" is not hers, but Lord Macaulay's. Writing long after 1694, and when Shrewsbury had been a duke many years, she speaks of him as "The Duke," and relates what she said to "*His Grace*." She does not, as Lord Macaulay asserts, represent herself as calling him "*Your Grace*," or use

the words "*Your Grace*" at all; though Lord Macaulay marks those words with inverted commas. Would Lord Macaulay think himself justified in denouncing as an "abandoned liar" a writer who, in the present day, should refer to the Duke of Wellington's victories in the Peninsula without specifying that he was a viscount at Busaco, an earl at Badajos, and a marquess at San Sebastian and Toulouse, and that he was not made a duke until the 3d of May 1814, a fortnight after the war had terminated? Is it necessary to read with suspicion every word written by the gallant historian of that war, because he habitually speaks of "Lord" Wellington — a title which *in strictness* the Duke never held at all, inasmuch as it is appropriate to a baron, and the Duke was raised at one step to the rank of a viscount?—or are we bound, in criticising his history, to speak of it as the work of *Mister Macaulay*?

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Grammont*, p. 280.

and in the court of Charles it was not esteemed shame. Beyond this, no blame can fairly attach to Marlborough. His sister was some years older than himself. He was a mere boy when the connection began, and was hardly twenty at the time of the birth of the Duke of Berwick. Taking into account the manners of the day, the amount of moral reprobation with which Churchill's acquiescence in the feelings with which his father and the rest of his family, according to Lord Macaulay, regarded the connection of Arabella with the Duke of York, will be but small.

We now come to the charges of avarice and fraud. "The applauses justly due," says Lord Macaulay, "to his conduct at Walcourt, could "not altogether drown the voices of those who "muttered that, wherever a broad piece was "to be saved or got, *this hero was a mere "Euclio, a mere Harpagon*; that, though he "drew a large allowance under pretence of "keeping a public table, he never asked an "officer to dinner; *that his muster-rolls were "fraudulently made up; that he pocketed pay "in the names of men who had long been*

“ *dead*, of men who had been *killed in his own*  
“ *sight four years before at Sedgemoor*; that  
“ there were twenty such names in one troop ;  
“ that there were thirty-six in another.”<sup>1</sup>

As “L’Avare” was first acted in 1667, it is certainly possible that the Jacobites may have applied to the great object of their hatred the name of Harpagon ; but as Pope was not born until 1688, the voices “muttering that Marlborough was a mere Euclio,” which had to be drowned in 1689, must have been confined to the readers of the “Aulularia” of Plautus, about which the Jacobites in general would probably have said, like Edie Ochiltree, “Lord—sake, sir, what do I ken about your Howlow-laria ?—it’s mair like a dog’s language than a man’s.” This is, however, one of those anachronisms into which Lord Macaulay’s love of the picturesque sometimes misleads him : it hardly claims a passing notice, and must not divert us from the serious inquiry we are pursuing.

The charge of avarice has been repeatedly brought and repeatedly answered. It was the stock charge of the libellers and pamphlet-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. v. p. 64 ; edit. 1858. Vol. iii. p. 438 ; 8vo.

eers of the day. Even Swift stooped so low in his "Letter to Crassus" as to accuse Marlborough of having risked his life rather than lose a pair of old stockings. Such calumnies answer themselves. His declining, when in poverty and disgrace, to accept of the generosity of the Princess Anne; his repeated refusal of the government of the Netherlands, with its princely income of L.60,000 a-year;<sup>1</sup> his generosity to young and deserving officers;<sup>2</sup> his application of all the money at his private disposal amongst the wounded officers of the enemy after the battle of Malplaquet;<sup>3</sup> his liberal provision during his own lifetime for his children: these, and many other facts, attest his disinterestedness and generosity, public and private. These were not the acts of a Euclio or a Harpagon.

The latter part of the paragraph we have quoted contains a more specific accusation; nothing less, in fact, than that Marlborough was guilty of the vulgar crime of obtaining money under false pretences. We have searched through the proceedings which took place on

<sup>1</sup> ALISON, vol. i. 283.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. ii. 394.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 395.



the fall of Marlborough in 1712 ; through the writings of Swift (not a merciful or scrupulous adversary) ; through such of the pamphlets of the day as we have been able to obtain, without discovering any trace of this very serious charge. Lord Macaulay here, however, cites his authority in these words : “ See the *Dear Bargain*, a “ Jacobite pamphlet, *clandestinely printed in* “ 1690 ; ”<sup>1</sup> and we can therefore judge what kind of evidence, unsupported by a single tittle of confirmation, he considers sufficient to convict so great a man of so mean a crime.

The *Dear Bargain* is a quarto pamphlet of twenty-four pages, closely printed in double column, without title-page, or date, or the name of the author, printer, or the place where it was printed. It is even more scurrilous and stupid than the generality of such publications. William is accused of contriving the death of his English soldiers by sending them to die of starvation and disease in Holland, where, the author says, “ you might see them sprawling “ by parcels, and groaning under the double “ gripes of their bowels and their consciences,”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vol. v. p. 64, note ; vol. iii p. 439 ; 8vo.

<sup>2</sup> Page 11.



in order that "the Dutch, the Danes, and other "foreigners, may possess our country." Mary is an "ungrateful Tullia,"—"astonishing barbarous nations, scandalising Christianity," and "driving her beasts over the face of her dead "father." Churchill is "Judas on both sides," with "nothing in his conduct, from one end "to the other, but mere Judas and damnation." James is "King Lear," "our lawful King, who "has shown himself upon all occasions a Lover "of his people, an Encourager of trade, a "Desirer of true liberty to tender consciences, "an Hater of all injustice, and a true Father "to his country."<sup>1</sup>

Such is the *Dear Bargain*.<sup>2</sup> Will Lord Macaulay indorse the testimony of his own witness? We hardly think he will. Yet this is the only evidence that he cites, and, as far as we have been able to discover, the only evidence that exists, in support of this foul charge. The words of the pamphlet are: "He excelled "in giving false muster-rolls, even twenty in

<sup>1</sup> Page 24.

*Tracts*, vol. x. p. 349. An ori-

<sup>2</sup> The *Dear Bargain* is re-  
printed amongst the *Somers* Advocates' Library.

“ one troop, and thirty-six in another, putting  
“ in names, some killed in Monmouth’s Rebel-  
“ lion, others dead in England since, and alive  
“ at this day, out of all service, the lists of  
“ which have been shown to me.”<sup>1</sup> The pic-  
turesque addition that these men who, according  
to the nameless and ungrammatical author, were  
both dead and alive, had been “ killed in Marl-  
“ borough’s *own sight* four years before at Sedge-  
“ moor,” is a creation of Lord Macaulay’s own  
strong inventive faculties. The nameless author  
of the *Dear Bargain* drops a naked, mis-  
begotten calumny in the streets, where it lies  
forgotten for a century and a half, and would  
have perished, as it deserved ; but Lord Macau-  
lay picks up the foundling, dresses it, decks it  
out, introduces it to the world, adopts it, gives it  
his own name and the sanction of his character,  
and it may in all probability live and flourish  
as long as the English language lasts. Does  
Lord Macaulay think that the historian has  
no higher duty, no deeper responsibility, than  
this ? He cannot plead ignorance of the in-  
famous character of his witness. Upon an-

<sup>1</sup> Page 21.

other occasion, when he addresses himself to the task of attempting to clear William from the infamy attaching to the massacre of Glencoe, he says : “ We can hardly suppose he was “ much in the habit of reading Jacobite pamphlets ; and if he did read them, he would “ have found in them such a quantity of absurd “ and rancorous invective against himself, that “ he would have been very little inclined to “ credit any imputation which they might “ throw on his servants. He would have seen “ himself accused, in one tract, of being a concealed Papist ; in another, of having poisoned “ Jeffreys in the Tower ; in a third, of having “ contrived to have Talmash taken off before “ Brest. He would have seen it asserted that “ in Ireland he once ordered fifty of his wounded “ English soldiers to be burned alive. He would “ have seen that the unalterable affection which “ he felt from his boyhood to his death for three “ or four of the bravest and most trusty friends “ that ever prince had the happiness to possess, was made a ground for imputing to him “ abominations as foul as those which are buried “ under the waters of the Dead Sea. He might,

“ therefore, naturally be slow to believe frightful  
“ imputations thrown by writers whom he knew  
“ to be habitual liars on a statesman whose  
“ abilities he valued highly, and to whose exer-  
“ tions he had, on some great occasions, owed  
“ much.”<sup>1</sup>

Such is Lord Macaulay's description of the Jacobite pamphleteers. The witness, who is utterly unworthy of belief when he deposes against William, whose testimony the king was justified in rejecting when given against the infamous Master of Stair, is, however, wholly unimpeachable when he gives evidence against Marlborough. It is on the testimony of one of the vilest of these “habitual liars” that Lord Macaulay asks his readers to believe this foul charge. It is upon this evidence that he has given the sanction of his name and reputation to slanders against Marlborough, as false, as foul, as contemptible as some which we can ourselves remember to have been current with regard to an equally illustrious man. It is to be hoped that no future historian will arise to play the part of a “chiffonier” amongst the dirt-heaps of St

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. p. 579; 8vo, 1855.

Giles's,—to transcribe from filthy broadsides and tattered and forgotten pamphlets page after page of malignant slander against the Hero of the Peninsular War, and to give the result of his labour to the world as the life and character of Wellington !

We shall now proceed to examine an accusation even more serious, and to investigate the grounds on which Lord Macaulay has thought himself justified in denouncing Marlborough in distinct terms as a “murderer.” That we may run no risk of misrepresenting Lord Macaulay, we copy the whole passage word for word.<sup>1</sup>

“ William, in order to cross the designs of  
“ the enemy, determined to send Russell to the  
“ Mediterranean with the greater part of the  
“ combined fleet of England and Holland. A  
“ squadron was to remain in the British seas,  
“ under the command of the Earl of Berkeley.  
“ Talmash was to embark on board of this  
“ squadron with a large body of troops, and was  
“ to attack Brest, which would, it was supposed,  
“ in the absence of Tourville and his fifty-three  
“ vessels, be an easy conquest.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. vii. p. 134, edit. of 1858. Vol. iv. p. 507, 8vo.

“ That preparations were making at Ports-  
 “ mouth for an expedition, in which the land  
 “ forces were to bear a part, could not be kept a  
 “ secret. There was much speculation at the  
 “ Rose and at Garraway’s touching the destina-  
 “ tion of the armament. Some talked of Rhé,  
 “ some of Oléron, some of Rochelle, some of  
 “ Rochefort. Many, till the fleet actually  
 “ began to move westward, believed that it was  
 “ bound for Dunkirk. Many guessed that Brest  
 “ would be the point of attack ; but they only  
 “ guessed this, for the secret was much better  
 “ kept than most of the secrets of that age.<sup>1</sup>  
 “ Russell, till he was ready to weigh anchor,  
 “ persisted in assuring his Jacobite friends that  
 “ he knew nothing. His discretion was proof  
 “ even against all the arts of Marlborough.  
 “ Marlborough, however, had other sources of  
 “ intelligence. To those sources he applied him-

<sup>1</sup> *L’Hermitage*, May 15 [25]. After mentioning the various reports, he says, “ De tous ces divers projets qu’on s’imagine aucun n’est venu à la cognoissance du public.” This is important ; for it has often been said, in excuse for Marlborough, that he communicated to the Court of St Germain only what was the talk of all the coffee-houses, and must have been known without his instrumentality.—*Note by Lord Macaulay*, edit. of 1858.



“ self ; and he at length succeeded in discovering  
 “ the whole plan of the government. He in-  
 “ stantly wrote to James. He had, he said, but  
 “ that moment ascertained that twelve regiments  
 “ of infantry and two regiments of marines were  
 “ about to embark, under the command of Tal-  
 “ mash, for the purpose of destroying the har-  
 “ bour of Brest, and the shipping which lay  
 “ there. ‘ This,’ he added, ‘ would be a great  
 “ ‘ advantage to England. But no consideration  
 “ ‘ can, or ever shall, hinder me from letting you  
 “ ‘ know what I think may be for your service.’  
 “ He then proceeded to caution James against  
 “ Russell. ‘ I endeavoured to learn this some  
 “ ‘ time ago from him, but he always denied it  
 “ ‘ to me, though I am very sure that he knew  
 “ ‘ the design for more than six weeks. This  
 “ ‘ gives me a bad sign of this man’s intentions.’<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Life of James II.*, 522 ; “ it to be of the utmost con-  
 MACPHERSON, i. 487. The letter “ sequence for the service of the  
 of Marlborough is dated May 4. “ King my master, and conse-  
 It was enclosed in one from “ quently for the service of  
 Sackville to Melfort, which would “ his most Christian Majesty.”  
 alone suffice to prove that those “ Would Sackville have written  
 who represent the intelligence thus if the destination of the  
 as unimportant are entirely mis- expedition had been already  
 taken. “ I send it, says Sack- known to all the world?—*Note*  
 ville, “ by an express, judging by *Lord Macaulay*, edit. of 1858.

“ The intelligence sent by Marlborough to  
“ James was communicated by James to the  
“ French Government. That Government took  
“ its measures with characteristic promptitude.  
“ Promptitude was indeed necessary ; for, when  
“ Marlborough’s letter was written, the prepara-  
“ tions at Portsmouth were all but complete ;  
“ and if the wind had been favourable to the  
“ English, the objects of the expedition might  
“ have been attained without a struggle. But  
“ adverse gales detained our fleet in the Channel  
“ during another month. Meanwhile a large  
“ body of troops was collected at Brest. Vauban  
“ was charged with the duty of putting the  
“ defences in order ; and, under his skilful direc-  
“ tion, batteries were planted which commanded  
“ every spot where it seemed likely that an in-  
“ vader would attempt to land. Eight large  
“ rafts, each carrying many mortars, were moored  
“ in the harbour, and some days before the Eng-  
“ lish arrived all was ready for their reception.

“ On the 6th of June the whole allied fleet  
“ was on the Atlantic, about fifteen leagues west  
“ of Cape Finisterre. There Russell and Berkeley  
“ parted company. Russell proceeded towards

“ the Mediterranean ; Berkeley’s squadron, with  
“ the troops on board, steered for the coast of  
“ Brittany, and anchored just without Camaret  
“ Bay, close to the mouth of the harbour of Brest.  
“ Talmash proposed to land in Camaret Bay. It  
“ was therefore desirable to ascertain with accu-  
“ racy the state of the coast. The eldest son  
“ of the Duke of Leeds, now called Marquess of  
“ Caermarthen, undertook to enter the basin, and  
“ to obtain the necessary information. The pas-  
“ sion of this brave and eccentric young man for  
“ maritime adventure was unconquerable. He  
“ had solicited and obtained the rank of Rear-  
“ Admiral, and had accompanied the expedition  
“ in his own yacht, the *Peregrine*, renowned as the  
“ masterpiece of shipbuilding, and more than once  
“ already mentioned in this history. Cutts, who  
“ had distinguished himself by his intrepidity in  
“ the Irish war, and had been rewarded with an  
“ Irish Peerage, offered to accompany Caermar-  
“ then. Lord Mohun, who, desirous, it may be  
“ hoped, to efface by honourable exploits the  
“ stain which a shameful and disastrous brawl  
“ had left on his name, was serving with the  
“ troops as a volunteer, insisted on being of the

“ party. The Peregrine went into the bay with  
“ its gallant crew, and came out safe, but not  
“ without having run great risks. Caermarthen  
“ reported that the defences, of which, however,  
“ he only had seen a small part, were formidable.  
“ But Berkeley and Talmash suspected that he  
“ overrated the danger. They were not aware  
“ that their design had long been known at  
“ Versailles ; that an army had been collected  
“ to oppose them ; and that the greatest en-  
“ gineer in the world had been employed to  
“ fortify the coast against them. They there-  
“ fore did not doubt that their troops might  
“ easily be put on shore under the protection of  
“ a fire from the ships. On the following morn-  
“ ing Caermarthen was ordered to enter the bay  
“ with eight vessels, and to batter the French  
“ works. Talmash was to follow with about a  
“ hundred boats full of soldiers. It soon ap-  
“ peared that the enterprise was even more  
“ perilous than it had on the preceding day  
“ appeared to be. Batteries which had then  
“ escaped notice opened on the ships a fire so  
“ murderous that several decks were soon cleared.  
“ Great bodies of foot and horse were discernible ;

“ and, by their uniforms, they appeared to be  
“ regular troops. The young Rear-Admiral sent  
“ an officer in all haste to warn Talmash. But  
“ Talmash was so completely possessed by the  
“ notion that the French were not prepared to  
“ repel an attack, that he disregarded all cau-  
“ tions, and would not even trust his own eyes.  
“ He felt sure that the force which he saw as-  
“ sembled on the coast was a mere rabble of  
“ peasants, who had been brought together in  
“ haste from the surrounding country. Con-  
“ fident that these mock soldiers would run like  
“ sheep before real soldiers, he ordered his men  
“ to pull for the beach. He was soon undeceived.  
“ A terrible fire mowed down his troops faster  
“ than they could get on shore. He had him-  
“ self scarcely sprung on dry ground when he  
“ received a wound in the thigh from a cannon-  
“ ball, and was carried back to his skiff. His  
“ men re-embarked in confusion. Ships and  
“ boats made haste to get out of the bay, but  
“ did not succeed till four hundred seamen and  
“ seven hundred soldiers had fallen. During  
“ many days the waves continued to throw up  
“ pierced and shattered corpses on the beach of

“ Brittany. The battery from which Talmash  
“ received his wound is called to this day the  
“ Englishman’s Death.

“ The unhappy general was laid on his couch ;  
“ and a council of war was held in his cabin.  
“ He was for going straight into the harbour of  
“ Beaulieu and bombarding the town. But this  
“ suggestion, which indicated but too clearly that  
“ his judgment had been affected by the irritation  
“ of a wounded body and a wounded mind, was  
“ wisely rejected by the naval officers. The  
“ armament returned to Portsmouth. There  
“ Talmash died, exclaiming with his last breath  
“ that he had been lured into a snare by treach-  
“ ery. The public grief and indignation were  
“ loudly expressed. The nation remembered the  
“ services of the unfortunate general, forgave his  
“ rashness, pitied his sufferings, and execrated  
“ the unknown traitors whose machinations had  
“ been fatal to him. There were many con-  
“ jectures and many rumours. Some sturdy  
“ Englishmen, misled by national prejudice,  
“ swore that none of our plans would ever be  
“ kept a secret from the enemy while French  
“ refugees were in high military command.



“ Some zealous Whigs, misled by party spirit,  
“ muttered that the Court of Saint Germain  
“ would never want good intelligence while a  
“ single Tory remained in the Cabinet Council.  
“ The real criminal was not named ; nor, till  
“ the archives of the House of Stuart were ex-  
“ plored, was it known to the public that Tal-  
“ mash had perished by the basest of all the  
“ hundred villanies of Marlborough.<sup>1</sup>

“ Yet never had Marlborough been less a  
“ Jacobite than at the moment when he rendered  
“ this wicked and shameful service to the Jaco-  
“ bite cause. It may be confidently affirmed  
“ that to serve the banished family was not his  
“ object, and that to ingratiate himself with the  
“ banished family was only his secondary object.  
“ His primary object was to force himself into  
“ the service of the existing government, and to  
“ regain possession of those important and lucra-  
“ tive places from which he had been dismissed  
“ more than two years before. He knew that  
“ the country and the parliament would not

<sup>1</sup> *London Gazette*, June 14, 18, of Lord Caermarthen ; Baden, 1694 ; *Paris Gazette*, June 16 June 15 [25] ; *L'Hermitage*, [July 3] ; BURCHETT ; *Journal* June 15 [25], 19 [29].

“ patiently bear to see the English army com-  
“ manded by foreign generals. Two Englishmen  
“ only had shown themselves fit for high military  
“ posts, himself and Talmash. If Talmash were  
“ defeated and disgraced, William would scarcely  
“ have a choice. In fact, as soon as it was  
“ known that the expedition had failed, and  
“ that Talmash was no more, the general cry  
“ was that the king ought to receive into his  
“ favour the accomplished captain who had done  
“ such good service at Walcourt, at Cork, and  
“ at Kinsale. Nor can we blame the multitude  
“ for raising this cry. For everybody knew that  
“ Marlborough was an eminently brave, skilful,  
“ and successful officer. But very few persons  
“ knew that he had, while commanding Wil-  
“ liam’s troops, while sitting in William’s council,  
“ while waiting in William’s bedchamber, formed  
“ a most artful and dangerous plot for the sub-  
“ version of William’s throne ; and still fewer  
“ suspected the real author of the recent cala-  
“ mity, of the slaughter in the Bay of Camaret,  
“ of the melancholy fate of Talmash. The effect,  
“ therefore, of the foulest of all treasons was to

“ raise the traitor, in the public estimation. Nor  
“ was he wanting to himself at this conjuncture.  
“ While the Royal Exchange was in consterna-  
“ tion at the disaster of which he was the cause,  
“ while many families were clothing themselves  
“ in mourning for the brave men of whom he  
“ was the murderer, he repaired to Whitehall,  
“ and there, doubtless with all that grace, that  
“ nobleness, that suavity, under which lay,  
“ hidden from all common observers, a scared  
“ conscience and a remorseless heart, he pro-  
“ fessed himself the most devoted, the most  
“ loyal, of all the subjects of William and Mary,  
“ and expressed a hope that he might, in this  
“ emergency, be permitted to offer his sword to  
“ their majesties. Shrewsbury was very desir-  
“ ous that the offer should be accepted ; but a  
“ short and dry answer from William, who was  
“ then in the Netherlands, put an end for the  
“ present to all negotiation. About Talmash the  
“ king expressed himself with generous tender-  
“ ness. ‘ The poor fellow’s fate,’ he wrote, ‘ has  
“ ‘ affected me much. I do not indeed think  
“ ‘ that he managed well ; but it was his ardent

“ ‘desire to distinguish himself that impelled  
 “ ‘him to attempt impossibilities.’ ”<sup>1</sup>

We are willing to accept this passage as the battle-ground on which to decide the question how far Lord Macaulay's treatment of evidence entitles him to confidence as an historian. We do so for two reasons. First, it is selected by Lord Macaulay himself as the strongest case against Marlborough ; and secondly, the evidence lies in a very narrow compass, and is to be found on the shelves of every ordinary library. The reader may therefore easily judge for himself, and from a short examination supply himself with a measure by which to gauge the amount of confidence to be placed in other statements.

This charge may be divided under four heads—

I. That Marlborough, making use of certain sources of information peculiar to himself, discovered the design of the Government to make a descent upon Brest, and revealed it to James, and through him to Louis, who would not otherwise have known it in time to prepare for defence.

<sup>1</sup> “ Shrewsbury to William, “ bury to William, June 22 [July  
 “ June 15 [25], 1694 ; William “ 2].” MACAULAY, vol. iv. 8vo,  
 “ to Shrewsbury, July 1 ; Shrews- 1855 ; vol. vii. (1858) p. 134.

II. That the information so communicated by Marlborough enabled the French Government to take such steps, and that they did thereupon take such steps, as rendered the expedition abortive.

III. That Talmash was by these means "lured into a snare," and, to use Lord Macaulay's own words, "perished by the basest of all the hundred villanies of Marlborough."

IV. That Marlborough was thus the real author of the slaughter in Camaret Bay, and the "murderer of Talmash," his object being to get rid of Talmash as a personal rival, and to force himself back into the service of the Government and the possession of the important and lucrative places from which he had been discharged two years before.

It is impossible to deepen the shadows of this picture. If it be true, Marlborough was a monster of depravity ; if it be false, and if it can be shown that Lord Macaulay had before him the evidence showing its falsehood, we should be sorry to put into plain English what Lord Macaulay must be held to be in the estimation of all honest men.

To fix this charge upon Marlborough, Lord

Macaulay relies upon the revelations contained in the Stuart Papers. Until the archives of that house were explored (he says), the “real criminal was not named,” nor “was it known to the world that Talmash had perished by the basest of all the hundred villanies of Marlborough.”<sup>1</sup>

These papers, therefore, are the authority upon which Lord Macaulay relies, and we shall proceed to show from these very papers that every one of the charges is groundless; that the guilt of one man has been laid upon the shoulders of another; that the “real criminal” has been shielded; that evidence has been garbled; that facts have been suppressed, and the whole transaction so distorted and disfigured, that it is impossible to recognise its true features. These are grave charges. If we do not conclusively establish their truth, upon our heads be the responsibility.

In the original Stuart Papers, published by Macpherson, under the date of May 1694,<sup>2</sup> is a report headed “Accounts brought by Captain Floyd, lately arrived from England.”

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. 512, 8vo.      <sup>2</sup> MACPHERSON, Orig. Pap., vol. i. 480.



Floyd was groom of the bedchamber to James, and was much employed by him as an emissary to his adherents in England.<sup>1</sup> “In “the beginning of March,” 1694,<sup>2</sup> Floyd, by the direction of James, went to England and sought interviews with Russell, Shrewsbury, Godolphin, and Churchill.<sup>3</sup> Of these four, all, except Churchill, held office under William. Russell was First Lord of the Admiralty and High Admiral. Shrewsbury had just received from William the seals of office as Secretary of State, the King saying as he placed them in his hands, “I know you are a man of “honour, and if you undertake to serve me, “you will do so faithfully :”—at the same time raising him to a dukedom, and conferring upon him the Garter.<sup>4</sup> Godolphin was First Lord of the Treasury. Churchill alone was out of office, and in disgrace, having only just been released from a prison, in which he had been confined on a charge notoriously false, and supported by the most infamous perjury.

Churchill received Floyd with expressions of

<sup>1</sup> MACPHERSON, Orig. Pap.,  
vol. i. 479.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., vol. i. 480.

<sup>4</sup> MACAULAY, iv. 505.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., vol. i. 245.

loyalty and attachment to James, and of contrition for his conduct towards him. Beyond these general and vague protestations, Floyd obtained nothing from Churchill. *He derived no information whatever from him.* It is important to keep this fact in view, as it throws light upon the whole of Marlborough's conduct with regard to the exiled family. It must be admitted in the outset that his correspondence with the Court of St Germain's can on no ground be justified. Marlborough, even whilst rendering the most important services to that cause of religious and political freedom, the success of which was dependent on the stability of William's throne, unhappily continued to lavish fair words and fallacious promises upon James, and his character must bear the stain of his having done so.

Floyd then went to Russell, who received him with warm protestations of devotion to the cause of the exiled family, backed by many oaths and imprecations.

Shrewsbury, through his mother the Countess, assured Floyd that he had only accepted office under William, "in order to serve James

“ more effectually thereafter !” But the conversation with Godolphin was the most important. The First Lord of the Treasury received the emissary of James “ in the most affectionate manner imaginable,” and informed him “ that *Russell would infallibly appear before Brest: the land-officers being of opinion that the place might be insulted* [i. e. assaulted], *although the sea-officers were of a different opinion; that this would give a just pretext to his Most Christian Majesty* [Louis] *to send troops to that place.*”<sup>1</sup> Floyd adds, “ he reiterated his protestations with the greatest loyalty to your majesty.”

There is evidence which fixes the date of this conversation between Godolphin and Floyd within a very narrow compass. Floyd, as we have seen, went to England at the beginning of March. Immediately after giving the account of his conversation with Godolphin, he goes on to narrate one which took place with the Countess of Shrewsbury, in which she alludes to the prorogation of Parliament as a future event, without any expression from

<sup>1</sup> MACPHERSON, Orig. Pap., i. 483.

which it can be inferred that it was immediately to be expected. Parliament was, in fact, prorogued on the 25th of April.<sup>1</sup> So that we have it clearly established that the conversation between Floyd and Godolphin was, at any rate, some time before that day. Floyd returned to France, reported his proceedings to James and the Earl of Melfort, by the latter of whom his report was translated into French, and "*carried to Versailles on the 1st of May* " 1694."<sup>2</sup> Taking into account the time thus occupied, the rate of travelling in those days, and bearing in mind the conversation with Lady Shrewsbury, it may fairly be inferred that Godolphin's information was given to the agent of James not later than the middle of April. It unquestionably reached Louis *on the 1st of May*.

Marlborough's letter, which Lord Macaulay treats as being the result of secret sources of information to which he alone had access—as the first communication of the design to Louis—as the occasion of the steps taken by the French Government for the fortification of Brest—the cause of the failure of the expedi-

<sup>1</sup> *Gazette*.

<sup>2</sup> MACPHERSON, i. 480.

tion, and of the death of Talmash—*was not written until the 4th of May, three days after Louis was in possession of the formal report, drawn up by Melfort from Floyd's narrative, and weeks after Godolphin had betrayed the whole scheme to the emissary of James.*

Marlborough's letter is not dated; but the compiler of the *Life of James*<sup>1</sup> and Lord Macaulay himself<sup>2</sup> concur in assigning the 4th of May as the date; and what appears to show conclusively that they are correct is, that Marlborough says "Russell sails *to-morrow*." Russell did, in fact, sail on the 5th of May.<sup>3</sup> Marlborough says that he had only learnt the news he sends *on the very day on which he writes*. If so, Louis was in possession of the intelligence before Marlborough. It may be said that Marlborough was equally guilty in intention—that Godolphin had merely forestalled him in the wicked act. That is not the question we are discussing. At present we are inquiring whether Lord Macaulay has or has not given a true account of the transaction.

<sup>1</sup> CLARKE, ii. 522.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. vii. p. 134, edit. 1858; vide ante, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Gazette*.

But even this charge cannot be maintained. It is far more consistent with the fact of Marlborough's intimacy with Godolphin, and with his conduct on other occasions, to suppose that he was acquainted with the design upon Brest, but concealed it until he thought, as was the fact, that revealing it could do no harm. He might well suppose that information conveyed only the day before Russell sailed would be of no service. The fact is, that the letter of Marlborough was perfectly harmless. The French Court had long before been informed, not only by Godolphin, but also by Lord Arran,<sup>1</sup> of the design upon Brest. They had taken precautions to fortify the place, *and it was perfectly well known to William and to Talmash that they had done so.*

William, writing to Shrewsbury on the 18th of June, after the failure of the attempt, says :  
“ You may easily conceive my vexation when  
“ I heard the repulse our troops had experi-  
“ enced in the descent near Brest; and al-  
“ though the loss is very inconsiderable, yet  
“ in war it is always mortifying to undertake

<sup>1</sup> *Life of James*, ii. 523.



“ anything that does not succeed ; and I own  
“ to you that I did not suppose they would  
“ have made the attempt without having well  
“ reconnoitred the situation of the enemy to  
“ receive them ; since they were long apprised  
“ of our intended attack, and made active  
“ preparations for defence ; for what was  
“ practicable two months ago was no longer  
“ so at present.”<sup>1</sup>

Shrewsbury, in reply, says : “ I never was so  
“ entirely satisfied with the design upon Brest  
“ as to be surprised at its miscarrying, *especially*  
“ since the enemy had so much warning to  
“ prepare for their defence. But I always  
“ concluded it was not to be attempted, in case  
“ their preparations had made it so impractic-  
“ able as it is related now to appear to those  
“ who viewed it from the ships, but that then  
“ they had full power to try what could be done  
“ on any other part of the coast they should  
“ find more feasible, though the advantage  
“ should not altogether be so considerable as  
“ seizing a post at Brest.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> COXE'S *Shrewsbury Corre-  
spondence*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 44, 45, 46.

William, in his next letter (which Lord Macaulay quotes), says: "I am indeed extremely affected with the loss of poor Talmash; for although I do not approve of his conduct, yet I am of opinion that his too ardent zeal to distinguish himself induced him to attempt what was impracticable."<sup>1</sup>

These letters distinctly negative Lord Macaulay's assertion that the leaders of the attack upon Brest were "not aware that the design had been long known at Versailles."<sup>2</sup> It is impossible that William could have written the letters we have quoted—that he could have used such expressions as that the enemy had been "long apprised of the intended attack"—that the plan was practicable "two months ago"—that he could have commented as he did upon the conduct of Talmash—if, as Lord Macaulay

<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that Lord Macaulay appears to be incapable of transcribing correctly. He quotes the above letter thus: "The *poor fellow's* fate has affected me much. I do not, indeed, think he *managed well*; but it was his ardent desire to distinguish himself that impelled him to attempt impos-

sibilities." William's letter is better English, and in better taste. Such colloquialisms as "poor fellow" belong to the free-and-easy school of the nineteenth century. Perhaps some future Macaulay may adopt phrases even more nautically familiar.

<sup>2</sup> P. 510. Vol. iv. 8vo.

asserts, Talmash had been led into a snare, or if the first information had been conveyed to the French court by a letter written on the 4th of May, the day before Talmash set out on the expedition. On the contrary, William treats Talmash throughout as having braved a danger which he knew, and which he ought not to have encountered without further precautions.

Nor is this all. Burchett, the authority to whom Lord Macaulay refers, narrates with great particularity the attack upon Camaret Bay ; observes upon the “early advice” which had been given to the French of the intended attack ; and uses no expression whatever from which it can be inferred that there was any surprise in the matter. Lord Caermarthen, in his *Journal*,<sup>1</sup> states that they found the place stronger than they had anticipated, and describes the precautions advised by Cutts and neglected by Talmash ; but he never intimates that there was any suspicion of treachery or “snare.” Lord Caermarthen also gives an account of the death of Talmash, but is altogether silent as to the exclamation which Lord Macaulay asserts the

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 11, 14, 15.

dying general made "with his last breath, that "he had been lured into a snare by treachery."

Lord Macaulay appears to have derived his account of the death of Talmash from Oldmixon, of whom he elsewhere says that "it is notorious "that of all our historians he is the least trustworthy."<sup>1</sup>

All the other accounts (as far as we are aware) simply state that Talmash died like a gallant soldier (as he undoubtedly was), "more concerned "for the ill success of the action than for the loss "of his own life."<sup>2</sup> Oldmixon goes into more minute particulars, on what authority it does not appear ; but though Lord Macaulay seems to have derived his account from Oldmixon, the account given by that historian directly negatives Lord Macaulay's charge against Marlborough.

Waiving for the present the question of how far Oldmixon is entitled to credit, let us see what his account is. "The brave general, Talmash," he says, "was mortally wounded ; and being "conveyed to Plymouth, died there a few days "after. It is certain he believed himself betrayed. His last words were very remarkable,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. 240, edit. 1858.

<sup>2</sup> RALPH, vol. ii. 504.

“ and prove beyond all question the correspond-  
“ ence the French had with *some of King Wil-*  
“ *liam’s council.* ‘I die contented,’ said he,  
“ ‘having done my duty in the service of a good  
“ ‘prince, but I am very sorry the government  
“ ‘is betrayed.’ He knew who were the traitors,  
“ and named them to a person who stood at his  
“ bedside, that he might discover them to Queen  
“ Mary in his Majesty’s absence, that she might  
“ be upon her guard against *those pernicious*  
“ *counsellors* who had *retarded the descent,*  
“ and by that means given France time so to  
“ fortify Brest as to render all approaches to it  
“ impracticable.”<sup>1</sup>

Now, if this account is true, those to whose correspondence with France Talmash referred were “ of King William’s council,” *which Marlborough was not.* The traitors whom he “ knew “ and named ” to the nameless person who “ stood by his bedside,” were “ pernicious coun-  
“ sellors,” who had access to the Queen, *which Marlborough had not.* They were persons who had “ retarded the descent, *and by that means* “ given France time to fortify Brest.” This

<sup>1</sup> OLDMIXON, iii. 92.

Marlborough never had the power to do, and has never been accused of doing, even by Lord Macaulay. It is clear, therefore, that if Talmash did, as Lord Macaulay asserts, “exclaim “with his last breath that he had been lured “into a snare by treachery,” he also declared that the treason was perpetrated by some person who by no possibility could be Marlborough—possibly Godolphin, possibly Shrewsbury, possibly both, but clearly and distinctly *not* Marlborough.

It is stated in the life of William, published immediately after his death, and about eight years after these events had taken place, that “it was common talk at London and elsewhere, “*long before the fleet went out*, that the design “was upon Brest, and that the French themselves were so sensible of it that they took “all the precautions imaginable, by planting “batteries, making intrenchments, and bringing numerous bodies of regular troops to “defend themselves against the impending “danger.”<sup>1</sup>

Ralph, referring to Boyer, states that it was “town-talk in London some months before it

<sup>1</sup> *Life of William*, Anon., 1703, second edition, p. 378.



“ was put in execution.”<sup>1</sup> Kennet<sup>2</sup> uses the same expression, and adds that “ it is certain “ that the French had time to provide themselves against the design.” Oldmixon quotes and confirms Kennet.<sup>3</sup> Luttrell, in giving an account of the despatch which brought the tidings of the defeat, says : “ The French certainly knew of our design, having about 10,000 “ foot and 4000 horse of veteran soldiers encamped there *ever since the 22d of April,* “ and 10,000 militia within the town. Vauban, “ the engineer, was also there, and fortified “ every pass.”<sup>4</sup> Here, then, we have the united testimony of contemporary historians—of Floyd, of Shrewsbury, of James, and of William—that the design upon Brest had been long known to the French court ; that the precautions taken in consequence by the government of that country were known to the English Government ; that it was town-talk in London, long before the fleet sailed, that Brest was their destination. We have Godolphin’s communication to Floyd in April, Lord Arran’s to James

<sup>1</sup> RALPH, vol. ii. p. 504, citing BOYER, *Life of King William*, vol. ii. p. 390.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iii. p. 664.

<sup>3</sup> OLDMIXON, vol. iii. 92.

<sup>4</sup> LUTT. *Di.*, vol. iii. p. 328 ; June 14, 1694.

some time before ; we have the 1st of May distinctly fixed as the date of a formal communication to Louis ; we have the fact of troops being assembled in April—of the fortification of Brest, not hurried and imperfect, but performed with skill, deliberation, and completeness ; we find Lord Macaulay citing the very authorities upon whose pages these facts appear, the very papers and letters in which the details are given, and yet deliberately asserting that the secret was faithfully kept until Marlborough, through some private channels, discovered it on the 4th of May, the very day before the fleet sailed, and “ instantly ” revealed it to James, and that the failure of the expedition and the death of Talmash were consequent upon the information thus conveyed !

It must be admitted that in no view of the case can the conduct of Marlborough in this transaction be justified. But his offence seems rather to have been against James, in seeking credit for a service of no value, than against William ; and we ought not, perhaps, to weigh too nicely the conduct of a man in those double-dealing times whose head was in peril between two equally implacable sovereigns. It

must be remembered, too, that at this time a large proportion of the people of England still considered James as their rightful sovereign ; that the Dutch troops of William were looked upon by many in the light of enemies, as much as the French troops of Louis. The correspondence of Marlborough with James must therefore be regarded as an offence of a very different character from what it would have been had it been carried on with a foreign potentate, or had Marlborough, like Russell, Shrewsbury, and Godolphin, held office and enjoyed the confidence of William. Prizing as we do the benefits conferred upon us by the Revolution, we are apt to forget in how different a light from ourselves William was regarded by those who had seen him only a few years before placed on the throne, in compliance, it is true, with religious and political necessity, but no less truly by means of treachery and falsehood, from the stains of which, unhappily, Marlborough himself was not free.

Our present task, however, is not to determine the very difficult question of what amount of blame is justly to be awarded to Marlborough,

but to examine how far confidence can be placed in even the most specific and deliberate statements of Lord Macaulay. Nothing can exceed in minuteness of detail and positiveness of assertion this particular charge against Marlborough. Nothing can exceed its gravity and importance. At the same time it is difficult to say whether it excels most in the *suggestio falsi* or in the *suppressio veri*. It is not true that it was by means of Marlborough's information that the French Government were enabled to fortify Brest ;—it is not true that Talmash was lured into a snare ;—it is not true that he and Berkeley were in ignorance that the design upon Brest was known at Versailles, and that steps had been taken for defence ;—it is not true that Marlborough was the cause of the failure of the expedition ;—and it is a monstrous and a foul calumny that Marlborough was the “murderer” of Talmash. The instances of “*suppressio veri*” are almost as remarkable. The treachery of Shrewsbury is suppressed ; the treachery of Godolphin is suppressed. The reader would never discover from Lord Macaulay's narrative that either of them had anything

whatever to do with the transaction. Floyd's intelligence is suppressed ; Lord Arran's information is suppressed ; Melfort's communication to Louis is suppressed ; the fact of the fortification of Brest in April is suppressed ; the correspondence between William and Shrewsbury is garbled ; and the dying words of Talmash, which afford the clearest proof of the innocence, in his estimation, of Marlborough, are distorted into evidence of his guilt !

We would willingly suppose that Lord Macaulay had been misled by other historians, who might have been biassed by the party feelings of the day. But this unhappily is impossible. He quotes and refers to the very documents we have laid before the reader—the very documents that disprove his assertions. The evidence was in his hands, which proves incontestably that James was in possession of the information in April ; that Godolphin had communicated it to Floyd during that month, and that Louis was in possession of it certainly not later than the first of May ; that it was known to the English Court that the French King was aware of their intentions, and that precautions had been taken

for the protection of Brest. Yet Lord Macaulay persists, year after year, and edition after edition, in reiterating this monstrous accusation—designates this as “the foulest of treasons,” “the basest of the hundred villanies of Marlborough,” and showers down upon him such appellations as “traitor,” “criminal,” and “murderer!”

We have been amongst those who have shared most deeply in the universal admiration due to the genius and eloquence of Lord Macaulay. In his own department we still regard him as unrivalled. He is beyond comparison the greatest master of brilliant and unscrupulous historical fiction that has ever adorned the language of England. It is impossible for any Englishman—it is impossible for any honest man, to rise from a perusal of this attack upon Marlborough, and an examination of the evidence upon which it rests, without feelings of the deepest indignation.

Here, for the present, we pause. We have done enough to put the reader upon his guard as to how he accepts even the most confident and positive assertions of Lord Macaulay, and to



show the kind of services to history which have been deemed worthy of being rewarded by a peerage.

The mischief done is incalculable. Probably no book that has issued from the press of this country since the *Waverley Novels* has had so universal a circulation as Lord Macaulay's *History*.

The poison has spread far and wide. It has entered into and corrupted the life-blood of modern literature. Lord Macaulay has proclaimed to the whole civilised world, in tones which reach its remotest corners, that the first of England's military commanders, one of the greatest of her statesmen and diplomatists, the man who, at a period of peril to our religious and political freedom, wielded more than sovereign power, and to whom we owe more perhaps than to any other man the blessings we most prize, was a "prodigy of turpitude;"<sup>1</sup> that he was stained with every vice that most degrades humanity; that he was a miser, a profligate, a cheat, a traitor, and a murderer. Lord Macaulay—we say it deliberately—has stated this, having

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. 515, edit. 1858.

before him and referring to the very documents which prove the falsehood of these charges. The antidote to this poison may work slowly, but it will work surely. Many years may elapse before the still small voice of truth can be distinctly heard above the torrent of eloquent declamation and the din of popular applause. Lord Macaulay, probably for his life, may enjoy the triumph of having successfully held up the greatest of English generals to the contempt and execration of the world. But the hour of retribution, though it may be distant, is certain. Reputations such as that of Marlborough cannot die, and the avenging spirit lives and breathes in thousands of manly and honest hearts. Even now we hear on all sides murmurs which grow deeper and louder each succeeding year, which shape and syllable themselves into the expression of a growing belief, gradually finding utterance from the lips of men who read and think, that wherever party interests or personal predilections or aversions interfere, Lord Macaulay is not to be trusted either to narrate facts accurately, to state evidence truly, or to award the judgment of History with impartiality.

## II.

### LORD MACAULAY AND THE MASSACRE OF GLENCOE.<sup>1</sup>

OUR last number contained some remarks on the freedom of hand with which Lord Macaulay flings the darkest colours on his canvass, in his portrait of England's most famous Whig general. We propose, in the following pages, to show with how light a touch he can spread a sparkling and transparent glaze over the most repulsive features of the great Whig king.

There is a popular superstition, that the blood of a murdered man impresses an indelible mark on the spot where it falls. The stains on the staircase at Holyrood and the floor of the dressing-room at Staunton Harold are still pointed out to hundreds of half-believing gazers. There is a moral truth at the foundation of this belief. The place in which a great crime has

<sup>1</sup> *Blackwood's Magazine*, July 1859.

been committed can never be seen or named without calling up the memory of that crime. The mean purposes to which they have been applied cannot efface the association which unites the names of Smithfield, and of the marketplace of Rouen, in our minds with the martyrs of religion and patriotism ; and no time can disconnect the name of Glencoe from the memory of an outrage so revolting, that, after the lapse of a century and a half, the blood curdles at it as if it were a deed of yesterday.

The story of the slaughter of M'Ian of Glencoe and his tribe, often as it has been repeated, never palls in interest. It has lately been told by the greatest word-painter of the age, whose steps it would be presumption to follow, and from whom quotation is needless, as every one is familiar with his eloquent narrative. Were that narrative as trustworthy as it is eloquent, we should only have the pleasant duty of joining in the general tribute of applause, instead of asking our readers to follow us through the comparatively dry details which appear to us necessary to place the actors in that tragedy in their true light.

We have read Lord Macaulay's account of the Massacre of Glencoe over and over again, each time with increased admiration of the marvellous variety of his powers. The most skilful advocate never framed an argument so subtle to avert punishment from the guilty, no labyrinth constructed to conceal the evidence of crime ever was so intricate, as the story which Lord Macaulay has woven to shield William from the obloquy which attaches to his name for his share in that dark transaction. The mind is insensibly drawn away from the issue ; indignation is aroused, to be directed successively at one subordinate agent after another, until the great and principal offender has time to escape, and the full torrent of invective bursts on the guilty and miserable head of one accomplice.

It is essential to a correct judgment upon the case to understand distinctly the relation in which the Glencoe men stood to the government of William. The terms rebels, marauders, thieves, banditti, murderers, have been so freely and so fraudulently used by historians and political partisans, from the close of the seventeenth century down even to our own day, and such is

the effect of positive, reckless, and often-repeated assertion, that some of our readers may be disposed to smile incredulously when we state, as we do most positively, that none of these terms are justly applicable to the Macdonalds of Glencoe at the time of the massacre.

In the summer of 1691, the war which was being vigorously carried on in Ireland was smouldering but not extinguished in Scotland. The clans remained faithful to James, but a year had elapsed since they had made any overt demonstration in his favour. Colonel Hill, who commanded William's garrison at Inverlochy, writing on the 15th of May 1691, says, "The people hereabouts have robbed none all this winter, but have been very peaceable and civil."<sup>1</sup> On the 3d of June he writes to the Earl of Melville, "We are at present as peaceable hereabouts as ever."<sup>2</sup> On the 29th of July the Privy Council report that "the Highland rebels have of late been very peaceable, acting no hostilities."<sup>3</sup> On the 22d of August, Colonel

<sup>1</sup> HILL to MELVILLE, *Highland Papers*, p. 617 ; *Highland Papers*, pp. 14, 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Leven and Melville Papers*, <sup>3</sup> *Ib.*; *Highland Papers*, p. 25.



Hill writes from Fort-William to Lord Raith, "This acquaints your Lordship that we are here " still in the same peaceable condition that we " have been for more than a year past."<sup>1</sup> The chiefs, indeed, only awaited the arrival of permission from St Germain's to enable them to lay down their arms without blemish to their honour or taint upon their fidelity.

On the 30th of June a suspension of arms was agreed upon, and a truce was entered into in the following terms, between the commander of the forces of James, and the Earl of Breadalbane on behalf of William :—

" We, Major-General Buchan, Brigadier, and " Sir Geo. Barclay, general officers of King James " the Seventh his forces within the kingdom of " Scotland, to testifie our aversion of shedding " Christian blood, and y<sup>t</sup> we design to appear good " Scotsmen, and to wish y<sup>t</sup> this nation may be " restored to its wonted and happy peace, doe " agree and consent to a forebearance of all acts " of hostilitie and depreda<sup>n</sup> to be committed " upon the subjects of this nation or England, " until the first day of October next ; providing

<sup>1</sup> *Leven and Melville Papers*, p. 648 ; *Highland Papers*, p. 32.

“ that there be no acts of hostility or depreda<sup>n</sup>  
“ committed upon any of the King’s subjects,  
“ who have been or are ingaged in his service,  
“ under our command, either by sea or land ;  
“ we having given all necessary orders to such  
“ as are under our command to forbear acts of  
“ hostility, by sea or land, untill the afors<sup>d</sup>  
“ tyme.—Subscribed at Achallader y<sup>e</sup> 30th June  
“ 1691.

“ Whereas the chieftains of clans have given  
“ bonds not to commit acts of hostility or de-  
“ preda<sup>n</sup> before the first day of October next,  
“ upon the conditions contained in the afs<sup>d</sup>  
“ bonds ; and in regard that the officers sent  
“ by King James to command the s<sup>d</sup> chieftains  
“ have by one unanimous consent in their council  
“ of war agreed to the s<sup>d</sup> forbearance : There-  
“ fore I, as having warrant from King William  
“ and Queen Mary to treat with the forsaid  
“ Highlanders concerning the peace of the king-  
“ dom, doe hereby certify y<sup>t</sup> the s<sup>d</sup> officers and  
“ chieftains have signed a forbearance of acts of  
“ hostilitie and depreda<sup>n</sup> till the first of October  
“ next. Wherefore it’s most necessary, just,  
“ and reasonable, y<sup>t</sup> noe acts of hostility by sea

“ or land or depreda<sup>n</sup> be committed upon the  
 “ s<sup>d</sup> officers, or any of their party whom they  
 “ doe command, or upon the chieftains, or their  
 “ kinsmen, friends, tennents, or followers, till  
 “ the for<sup>d</sup> first day of October.—Subscribed at  
 “ Achallader the 30th day of June 1691.—  
 “ BRAIDALBINE.”<sup>1</sup>

This document is conclusive that those who were in arms for James in Scotland were legitimate belligerents, enemies who might lawfully be shot down in battle, but who might treat and be treated with, and who were entitled to all those rights which the laws of nations award to an enemy.

The treaty of Limerick was signed on the 3d of October in the same year. It will be admitted by every one, that to have shot or hanged Sarsfield as a rebel would have been an outrage as much on the laws of war as on those of humanity. It has served the interests of those who desired to shield the perpetrators of an infamous crime from opprobrium to call Macdonald of Glencoe a rebel. He was as much a rebel as Sarsfield was, and no more ; in both cases the distinction is broad and clear—so broad and clear, that we should have

<sup>1</sup> *Culloden Papers*, p. 18.

supposed it impossible for any one honestly to be blind to it. Neither Sarsfield nor Glencoe had ever owned the authority of William. As long as James was in arms to defend his crown, as long as subjects who had never owned any other allegiance flocked round his standard, so long were those subjects entitled to all the rights which the laws of war concede to enemies.

Contemporaneously with the signature of the treaty we have referred to, negotiations for a permanent pacification were going on. Colonel Hill, in one of the letters we have already quoted, says: "The Appin and Glencoe men have desired " they may go in to my Lord Argyle, because he " is their superior, and I have set them a short day " to do it in." <sup>1</sup> The Privy Council, in the next month, report that the Highlands had of late been very peaceable, that many had accepted the oath from Colonel Hill, "never to rise in arms " against their Majesties or the Government," <sup>2</sup> and that others were living quietly and peaceably.

We have been thus precise in our statement of the position of the Highland adherents of

<sup>1</sup> *Leven and Melville Papers*, p. 607, June 1691.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, July 29, 1691.

James during the summer and autumn of 1691 for the purpose of showing, by the best possible testimony—that of the civil and military servants of William—that there was nothing to provoke or excuse any measure of severity ; that the war, though not extinguished, was suspended, and that the conduct of the Highlanders, considering the unsettled state of the country, was singularly peaceful and orderly.

Immediately after the signature of the treaty, the Earl of Breadalbane invited the heads of the clans to a meeting at Achallader, with the view of arranging a final cessation of hostilities.<sup>1</sup> Amongst others, Glencoe was invited, and obeyed the summons. Lord Macaulay attempts with great ingenuity to depreciate the position held by Glencoe amongst his brother chiefs. It is true that the fighting men who owned his command did not exceed one-fourth of the number of those who, at the summons of the fiery cross,

<sup>1</sup> Achallader was a house of the Earl of Breadalbane, situate near the north-eastern end of Loch Tullich, in the neighbourhood of the shooting-lodge of the present Marquess, and of the famous deer forest of the Black Mount. It was on the opposite side of the lake to the present Inn of Inveroran, a place probably well known to many of our readers.

flocked together to obey the behests of Locheil or Glengarry ; but he commanded half as many as Keppoch, and a number equal to the haughty chief of Barra, who boasted that he was the fourteenth Roderick M'Neill who had reigned in uninterrupted succession from father to son over his island kingdom, and who handed down that patriarchal sway to our own time.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following document shows the proportionate strength of the clans at this time :—

“ We, Lord James Murray,  
 “ Pat. Stewart of Ballechan, Sir  
 “ John M'Lean, Sir Donald  
 “ M'Donald, Sir Ewen Cameron,  
 “ Glengarrie, Benbecula, Sir  
 “ Alexander M'Lean, Appin,  
 “ Enveray, Keppoch, Glencoe,  
 “ Strowan, Calochele, Lieut.-  
 “ Col. M'Gregor, Bara, Larg,  
 “ M'Naughton, do hereby bind  
 “ and oblige ourselves, for his  
 “ Majesty's service and our own  
 “ safeties, to meet at  
 “ the day of Sept.  
 “ next, and bring along with us  
 “ fencible men, that is to say—  
 “ Lord James Murray }  
 “ and Ballechan, }  
 “ Sir John M'Lean, . . . 200  
 “ Sir Donald Macdonald, 200  
 “ Sir Ewen Cameron, . . 200  
 “ Glengarrie, . . . 200

“ Benbecula, . . . 200  
 “ Sir Alex. M'Lean, . . 100  
 “ Appin, . . . 100  
 “ Enveray, . . . 100  
 “ Keppoch, . . . 100  
 “ Lieut.-Col. M'Gregor, 100  
 “ Calochele, . . . 50  
 “ Strowan, . . . 60  
 “ Bara, . . . 50  
 “ Glencoe, . . . 50  
 “ M'Naughton, . . . 50  
 “ Larg, . . . 50  
 “ But in case any of the rebels  
 “ shall assault or attack any of  
 “ the above-named persons, be-  
 “ twixt the date hereof and the  
 “ first day of rendezvous, we do  
 “ all solemnly promise to assist  
 “ one another to the utmost of  
 “ our power,—as witness these  
 “ presents signed by us, at the  
 “ Castle of Blair, the 24th Aug.  
 “ 1689.” (Here follow the sig-  
 “ natures.)—BROWNE'S *History of*  
*the Clans*, vol. ii. p. 183.



Much of the influence of Glencoe was due to his personal character. "He was a person of great integrity, honour, good-nature, and courage. . . . Much loved by his neighbours, and blameless in his conduct."<sup>1</sup> Such is his character, drawn by the biographer of Lochail. His personal prowess, which has been celebrated both in prose and verse, added no doubt to the consideration in which he was held.

It is by no means improbable, however, that amongst the tribe of which he was the head there were some who felt little scruple in possessing themselves of the flocks and herds of hostile clans, and who, as Lord Macaulay remarks, as little thought themselves thieves for doing so as "the Raleighs and Drakes considered themselves thieves when they divided the cargoes of Spanish galleons."<sup>2</sup>

Feuds had been of frequent occurrence between the Glencoe men and the neighbouring clansmen of Breadalbane. An ancient antipathy, deepened by political differences, existed between the Macdonalds and that branch of the Campbells. Breadalbane, either forgetful for

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Lochail*, 321.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iii. p. 307.

the moment of the important business he had in hand, or, which appears more probable, desirous to pick a quarrel and prevent an amicable settlement with one whom he hoped to be able to crush, if he could find a plausible excuse for doing so, reproached Glencoe "about some cows " that the Earl alleged were stolen from his men " by Glencoe's men." <sup>1</sup> Glencoe left Achallader in anger, as Breadalbane probably intended he should, and returned with his two sons to his patriarchal home. He knew the malice of Breadalbane ; but the truce was not to expire until October, and till then, at least, he and those for whose safety he was responsible were secure.

Lord Macaulay, with some philological assumption, introduces his description of the glen by telling his readers that "in the Gaelic tongue, " ' Glencoe ' signifies the Glen of Weeping." It signifies no such thing. According to the simplest and most apparent derivation, it signifies the Glen of the Dogs, "con" being the genitive plural of "cù," a dog. Had Lord Macau-

<sup>1</sup> See the very plain and simple account given in the depositions of John and Alexander M'Ian, 13 *State Trials*, p. 897; and Lord Macaulay's picturesque phrase, vol. iv. p. 193.

lay's knowledge of Gaelic been sufficient to tell him this, he would probably have urged it as conclusive proof of the estimation in which the inhabitants were held. But in fact the name signifies no more than the Valley of the Conn or Cona,<sup>1</sup> that being the name which the stream flowing through it bears in common with many other rivers in Scotland, derived either from the Scotch fir or from the common moss which covers the valley, both of which bear the name of "cona." The word which signifies lamentation or weeping is the unmanageable compound of letters "caoidh," which probably would be quite as great an enigma to Lord Macaulay as the mystical M.O.A.I. was to Malvolio.

His picture of Glencoe is painted with the historian's usual brilliancy, and his usual fidelity. It bears the same relation to the place itself as Mr Charles Kean's scenery at the Princess's Theatre does to Harfleur, Agincourt, or Eastcheap. We have seen the glen in the extremes of weather : we have been drenched and scorched in it. We have wrung rivers out of

<sup>1</sup> See Sir JOHN SINCLAIR'S *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 485.

our plaid, and we have knelt down to suck up through parched lips the tiny rivulets that trickled over the rocks. We therefore consider ourselves entitled to criticise Lord Macaulay's description.

Lord Macaulay says: "In truth, that pass  
"is the most dreary and melancholy of all  
"Scottish passes—the very valley of the shadow  
"of death. . . . Mile after mile the tra-  
"veller looks in vain for the smoke of one hut,  
"for one human form wrapped in a plaid, and  
"listens in vain for the bark of a shepherd's dog  
"or the bleat of a lamb: the only sound that  
"indicates life is the faint cry of a bird of prey  
"from some storm-beaten pinnacle of rock."<sup>1</sup>  
The reader must not suppose that this exaggerated description of the desolation of Glencoe is without an object, or that it is due only to the pleasure which Lord Macaulay feels in soaring on the powerful wings of his imagination. We shall presently see that in the most studied and ingenious manner he seeks to diminish the feeling of sympathy for the Macdonalds by showing that they were "banditti," "thieves,"

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. p. 191.

“robbers,” “freebooters,” “ruffians,” “marauders who in any well-governed country would have been hanged thirty years before,”<sup>1</sup> and by this means gradually to lead to the conclusion that it was the cruelty and treachery which accompanied the execution of the order for their “extirpation” which constitutes the crime, and not the giving of the order itself.

The Macdonalds, he infers, *must* have been thieves—honest men could not have existed in such a wilderness; and accordingly, in the next page, he says that “the wilderness itself was valued on account of the shelter which it afforded to the plunderer and his plunder.”<sup>2</sup> Now, from the entrance to the glen until it expands as it approaches the village of Inverco is about six miles, and in this distance there is at least one farmhouse—if our memory serves us correctly, there are two, and several cottages; so that if Lord Macaulay looked in vain for the smoke of a hut, it must have been because at that moment the fires were not lighted. As to not hearing the bark of a dog or the bleat of a lamb, at our last visit we were

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. pp. 203, 204, 205.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv. p. 192.

almost deafened by both, for Glencoe is a sheep-walk occupied by that well-known sportsman and agriculturist, Mr Campbell of Monzie, one of whose deer-forests it immediately adjoins, and who, on the occasion we refer to, was superintending in person the gathering of his flocks from the mountains, preparatory to starting for Falkirk. At the lower end (the scene of the massacre) the glen expands, and forms a considerable plain of arable and pasture land, where the reapers were busy gathering in the harvest in the fields round the village, which still stands surrounded by flourishing trees on the same spot where it stood in 1692, and where it is marked under the name of Innercoan upon Visscher's map of Scotland, published at Amsterdam in 1700 — pretty good proof that it was not then a very inconsiderable place. A mile or two farther on, Loch Leven glittered in the setting sun, round the island burial-place of the M'ians, where the murdered chieftain sleeps with his fathers. The chink of hammers sounded from the busy slate-quarries of Mr Stewart of Ballachulish, and in the distance the wood of Lettermore (the scene of



another foul outrage) stretched forward towards the broad waters of the Linnhe Loch.

If Lord Macaulay had said that the Pass of Glencoe excels all others in Scotland in stern beauty, he would, as far as our knowledge goes, have said what was perfectly correct ; but we know many passes far more “ desolate ” and “ melancholy,” none grander, but many “ sadder ” and “ more awful.” The pass from Loch Kishorn to Applecross is more desolate ; the head of Loch Torridon is more dreary ; and even Glen Rosa, in Arran, is more destitute of the signs of human habitation. Many others will occur to the mind of any one whose steps have wandered out of the beaten track of cockney tourists. Such is Glencoe at the present day. It was described not long after the massacre by the author of the *Memoirs of Sir Evan Cameron of Lochail* in the following words :—

“ The country of Glencoe is, as it were, the  
 “ mouth or inlet into Lochaber from the south,  
 “ and the inhabitants are the first we meet with  
 “ that appeared unanimously for King James.  
 “ They are separated from Breadalbane on the

“ south by a large desert, and from Lochaber  
“ by an arm of the sea on the north ; on the  
“ east and west it is covered by high, rugged,  
“ and rocky mountains, almost perpendicular,  
“ rising like a wall on each side of a *beautiful valley, where the inhabitants reside.*”<sup>1</sup>

Just midway between the time of the massacre and the present day, we have the testimony of another perfectly competent witness to its state. Mrs Grant of Laggan, at that time a girl of nineteen, was residing with her father, who was barrack - master at Fort - Augustus. She was distantly connected with the family of Glencoe, and the granddaughters of the chief himself of that day, who had been carried off to the hills by his nurse on the night of the massacre, when he was an infant of two years old, had been her schoolfellows. She writes in May 1773, from Fort - William, speaks of an invitation she had received from her school-fellow to visit her at Glencoe, and then proceeds as follows :—

“ Glencoe she has often described to me as  
“ very singular in its appearance and situation ;

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Lochiel*, Maitland Club, p. 315.

“ —a glen so narrow, so warm, so fertile, so  
“ overhung by mountains which seem to meet  
“ above you—with sides so shrubby and woody !  
“ —the haunt of roes and numberless small birds.

“ They told me it was unequalled for the  
“ chorus of ‘ wood-notes wild ’ that resounded  
“ from every side. The sea is so near that  
“ its roar is heard and its productions abound ;  
“ it was always accounted (for its narrow  
“ bounds) *a place of great plenty and se-*  
“ *curity.*”<sup>1</sup>

Lord Macaulay must have seen this description, for he alludes to the letter in a contemptuous note,<sup>2</sup> in which he says that Mrs Grant’s account of the massacre is “ grossly incorrect,”<sup>3</sup> and that she makes a mistake of *two years* as to the date. Mrs Grant’s account of the massacre is just what we might expect from a girl deeply imbued with the Ossianic furor, writing from tradition, without even the pretence of historical accuracy. It is curious, however, that Lord Macaulay imports into his History the most improbable incident that she

<sup>1</sup> *Letters from the Mountains*, vol. i. p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv. p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

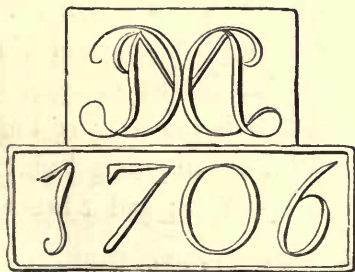
relates — namely, that “the hereditary bard  
“of the tribe took his seat on a rock which  
“overhung the place of slaughter, and poured  
“forth a long lament over his murdered breth-  
“ren and his desolate home.”<sup>1</sup> Mrs Grant’s  
bard bears too evident a likeness to the gentle-  
man of the same profession who sat

“On a rock, whose haughty brow  
Frowns o’er old Conway’s foaming flood,”

and committed suicide in its “roaring tide,” to  
be acknowledged as an historical personage.  
Her mistake as to time, which Lord Macaulay  
condemns so harshly, is a mistake of six weeks  
—not, as he asserts, of two years. She says  
the massacre took place during the festivities  
of Christmas : it occurred, in fact, on the 13th  
of February. Notwithstanding these inaccura-  
cies, Mrs Grant is a perfectly good witness as to  
what the state of the glen was in her time ; and  
any one who visits it now, unless he is a cockney  
boxed up inside the “Rob Roy,” somnolent from  
the effect of the coach dinner at Tyndrum, or  
unaccustomed potations of toddy at King’s  
House, will see much to confirm the correctness

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. p. 212.

of her description. Two mistakes which are frequently made we must guard him against. The site of the house of Achtriaten, about half-way down the glen, is pointed out by some as the scene of the massacre. Achtriaten himself was murdered—not, however, in his own house, but in that of his brother at Auchnaion.<sup>1</sup> Others, better informed as to the localities, state that a ruined gable, still standing, formed part of Glencoe's house : it very possibly occupies the same site as the house of the chief which was burned on the night of the massacre ; but the date and monogram upon a stone inserted under one of the windows show that it was probably the house of John Macdonald, the eldest son and successor of the chief, rebuilt on his return to the glen after his father's murder.



<sup>1</sup>. *Report*, p. 21.

We copied the inscription faithfully, as it appeared in 1857.

We must now leave Glencoe for the present in his mountain home, and Breadalbane proceeding with his negotiations with the other chiefs. Another actor comes upon the stage — the Master of Stair—according to Lord Macaulay “the most politic, the most eloquent, the most “powerful of Scottish statesmen,”<sup>1</sup> “the original “author of the massacre,”<sup>2</sup> the “single mind”<sup>3</sup> from whom all the “numerous instruments employed “in the work of death,”<sup>4</sup> “directly or indirectly, “received their impulse,”<sup>5</sup> the “one offender who “towered high above the crowd of offenders, pre-  
‘eminent in parts, knowledge, rank, and power;”<sup>6</sup> the “one victim demanded by justice in return “for many victims immolated by treachery.”<sup>7</sup> Such is Lord Macaulay’s judgment. We are not about to dispute the justice of the sentence which consigns the Master of Stair to eternal execration; but it is the duty of the historian to mete out with an unsparing hand the judgment of posterity to all; and it is not by heap-

<sup>1</sup> MAC. vol. iv. p. 579.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 578.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 580.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.



ing upon one head the punishment due to many that the claims of justice are satisfied.

It is difficult, in dealing with the memory of a man whose crimes excite such just indignation as do those committed by the Master of Stair, to gird one's-self up to the duty of saying, that of part of that which he has been charged with he was not guilty. Black as he was, he was not so black as he has been painted. Lord Macaulay dooms him from the first to be the 'Demon of the piece. He is the Iago of the tragedy, "more  
" deep damned than Prince Lucifer," no "fiend  
" in hell so ugly ;" and accordingly Lord Macaulay omits every particle of evidence which tends in the slightest degree to lighten the load of guilt. It is not pleasant to discharge the duty of devil's advocate, but we shall lay this evidence before the reader : when all is done, the Master of Stair will remain quite black enough to satisfy any moderate amateur of villains.

Lord Macaulay introduces him to the reader in the following passage :—

"The Master of Stair was one of the first  
" men of his time, a jurist, a statesman, a fine

“scholar, an eloquent orator. His polished  
“manners and lively conversation were the de-  
“light of aristocratical societies ; and none who  
“met him in such societies would have thought  
“it possible that he could bear the chief part in  
“any atrocious crime. His political principles  
“were lax, yet not more lax than those of most  
“Scotch politicians of that age. Cruelty had  
“never been imputed to him. Those who most  
“disliked him did him the justice to own that,  
“where his schemes of policy were not con-  
“cerned, he was a very good-natured man.  
“There is not the slightest reason to believe that  
“he gained a single pound Scots by the act  
“which has covered his name with infamy. He  
“had no personal reason to wish the Glencoe  
“men ill. There had been no feud between  
“them and his family. His property lay in a  
“district where their tartan was never seen.  
“Yet he hated them with a hatred as fierce and  
“implacable as if they had laid waste his fields,  
“burned his mansion, murdered his child in the  
“cradle.” . . .—(Vol. iv. p. 198.)

“He was well read in history, and doubtless  
“knew how great rulers had, in his own and

“ other countries, dealt with such banditti. He  
“ doubtless knew with what energy and what  
“ severity James the Fifth had put down the  
“ moss-troopers of the Border, how the chief of  
“ Henderland had been hung over the gate of  
“ the castle in which he had prepared a banquet  
“ for the king ; how John Armstrong and his  
“ thirty-six horsemen, when they came forth to  
“ welcome their sovereign, had scarcely been  
“ allowed time to say a single prayer before they  
“ were all tied up and turned off. Nor probably  
“ was the Secretary ignorant of the means by  
“ which Sixtus the Fifth had cleared the ecclesi-  
“ astical state of outlaws. The eulogists of that  
“ great pontiff tell us that there was one formid-  
“ able gang which could not be dislodged from  
“ a stronghold among the Apennines. Beasts of  
“ burden were therefore loaded with poisoned  
“ food and wine, and sent by a road which ran  
“ close to the fastness. The robbers sallied  
“ forth, seized the prey, feasted, and died ; and  
“ the pious old pope exulted greatly when he  
“ heard that the corpses of thirty ruffians, who had  
“ been the terror of many peaceful villages, had  
“ been found lying among the mules and pack-

“ ages. The plans of the Master of Stair were  
“ conceived in the spirit of James and of Sixtus ;  
“ and the rebellion of the mountaineers furnished  
“ what seemed to be an excellent opportunity for  
“ carrying those plans into effect. Mere rebel-  
“ lion, indeed, he ' could have easily pardoned.  
“ On Jacobites, as Jacobites, he never showed  
“ any inclination to bear hard. He hated the  
“ Highlanders, not as enemies of this or that  
“ dynasty, but as enemies of law, of industry,  
“ and of trade. In his private correspondence  
“ he applied to them the short and terrible form  
“ of words in which the implacable Roman pro-  
“ nounced the doom of Carthage. His project  
“ was no less than this, that the whole hill-  
“ country from sea to sea, and the neighbouring  
“ islands, should be wasted with fire and sword ;  
“ that the Camerons, the Macleans, and all the  
“ branches of the race of Macdonalds, should be  
“ rooted out. He therefore looked with no  
“ friendly eye on schemes of reconciliation, and,  
“ while others were hoping that a little money  
“ would set everything right, hinted very intel-  
“ ligibly his opinion, that whatever money was  
“ to be laid out on the clans would be best laid

“ out in the form of bullets and bayonets. To  
 “ the last moment he continued to flatter himself  
 “ that the rebels would be obstinate, and would  
 “ thus furnish him with a plea for accomplishing  
 “ that great social revolution on which his heart  
 “ was set. The letter is still extant in which he  
 “ directed the commander of the forces in Scot-  
 “ land how to act, if the Jacobite chiefs should  
 “ not come in before the end of December.  
 “ There is something strangely terrible in the  
 “ calmness and conciseness with which the in-  
 “ structions were given. ‘Your troops will  
 “ ‘destroy entirely the country of Lochaber,  
 “ ‘Locheil’s lands, Keppoch’s, Glengarry’s, and  
 “ ‘Glencoe’s. Your power shall be large enough.  
 “ ‘I hope the soldiers will not trouble the Go-  
 “ ‘vernment with prisoners.’”<sup>1</sup>—(Vol. iv. p. 202).

<sup>1</sup> That the plan originally is in the appendix to the first framed by the Master of Stair volume of Mr Burton’s valuable *History of Scotland*. “It was such as I have represented it, is clear from parts of his letters which are quoted in the report of 1695; and from his letters to Breadalbane of October 27, December 2, and December 3, 1691. Of these letters to Breadalbane, the last two are in Dalrymple’s Appendix. The first “appeared,” says Burnett (ii. “157), that a black design was “laid not only to cut off the “men of Glencoe, but a great “many more clans, reckoned “to be in all above six thousand “persons.”—*Note by Lord Macaulay.*

“His design was to butcher the whole race  
“of thieves—the whole damnable race. Such  
“was the language in which his hatred vented  
“itself. He studied the geography of the wild  
“country which surrounded Glencoe, and made  
“his arrangements with infernal skill. If pos-  
“sible, the blow must be quick, and crushing,  
“and altogether unexpected. But if MacIan  
“should apprehend danger, and should attempt  
“to take refuge in the territories of his neigh-  
“bours, he must find every road barred. The  
“pass of Rannoch must be secured. The Laird  
“of Weems, who was powerful in Strath Tay,  
“must be told that, if he harbours the outlaws,  
“he does so at his peril. Breadalbane pro-  
“mised to cut off the retreat of the fugitives on  
“one side, MacCallum More on another. It  
“was fortunate, the Secretary wrote, that it  
“was winter. This was the time to maul  
“the wretches. The nights were so long, the  
“mountain-tops so cold and stormy, that even  
“the hardiest men could not long bear exposure  
“to the open air without a roof or a spark of fire.  
“That the women and the children could find  
“shelter in the desert was quite impossible.



“ While he wrote thus, no thought that he was  
“ committing a great wickedness crossed his  
“ mind. He was happy in the approbation of  
“ his own conscience. Duty, justice—nay,  
“ charity and mercy—were the names under  
“ which he disguised his cruelty ; nor is it by  
“ any means improbable that the disguise im-  
“ posed upon himself.”<sup>1</sup>

Much of this brilliant passage is true. But we distinctly deny that the Master of Stair “ looked with no friendly eye on schemes of reconciliation.” On the contrary, the correspondence, to part of which Lord Macaulay refers, omitting any notice of the remainder, shows distinctly two facts : first, that for months the Master of Stair was most active and urgent in promoting schemes of reconciliation, by negotiation, by threats, and by money ; and, secondly, that William had every fact brought to his immediate notice, and gave personal directions even as to matters so minute as the expenditure of a few hundred pounds.

It was not until the failure of the negotiation that all the tiger broke out in the disposition of

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. p. 206.

the Master of Stair ; it was then, and not till then, that he gave in to Breadalbane's "scheme for *mauling* them"—(a scheme, which Lord Macaulay most unjustifiably attributes not to the Earl, to whom it belongs of right, but to the Master of Stair,<sup>1</sup> who has quite enough to answer for without bearing any share of other men's crimes)—and joined in the determination to "extirpate" (for such was the terrible word selected for the order which William signed and countersigned with his own hand) the whole clan of M'Ian of Glencoe.

In June 1691 the Master of Stair was with William in the Netherlands ; from thence he sent the following letter to the Earl of Breadalbane :—

"FROM THE CAMP AT APPROBAIX,  
*June 25 [15], 1691.*

"MY LORD,—I can say nothing to you. All things as you wish, but I do long to hear from you. By the King's letter to the Council you will see *he has stopped all hostilities against the Highlanders till he may hear from you,* and that your time be elapsed without coming

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. p. 206.

“ to some issue, which I do not apprehend, for  
 “ there will come nothing to them. . . . But  
 “ if they will be mad, before Lammas, they will  
 “ repent it ; for the army will be allowed to go  
 “ into the Highlands, which some thirst so much  
 “ for, and the frigates will attack them ; but *I*  
 “ *have so much confidence in your conduct*  
 “ *and capacity to let them see the ground they*  
 “ *stand on, that I think these suppositions are*  
 “ *vain.* I have sent your instructions. My dear  
 “ Lord, adieu.”<sup>1</sup>—STAIR to LORD BREADAL-  
 BANE.

On the 24th of August he writes again :—

“ NANCOUR, Aug. 24, O. S., 1691.

“ The more I do consider our affairs, I think  
 “ it the more necessary that your lordship do  
 “ with all diligence post from thence,<sup>2</sup> and that  
 “ you write to the clans to meet you at Edinburg,  
 “ to save your trouble of going further. They  
 “ have been for some time excluded from that  
 “ place, so they are fein, and will be fond to  
 “ come there.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dal. Ap., Pt. ii. p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> *i. e.* from London.

<sup>3</sup> Dal. Ap., Pt. ii. p. 210.

In his next letter from Loo he says : “ I hope  
“ it is not in anybody’s power to deprive you of  
“ the success to conclude that affair in the terms  
“ the King hath approven.”<sup>1</sup> Again, writing  
from Deeren on the 30th [20] of Sept., he says :  
“ MY LORD,—I had yours from London sig-  
“ nifying that you had not been then despatched,  
“ for which I am very uneasy. I *spoke im-*  
“ *mediately to the King*, that without the money  
“ the Highlanders would never do ; and there  
“ have been so many difficulties in the matter,  
“ that a resolution to do, especially in money  
“ matters, would not satisfy. The King said  
“ they were not presently to receive it, which is  
“ true, but that he had ordered it to be de-  
“ livered out of his treasury, so they need not  
“ fear in the least performance ; besides *the*  
“ *paper being signed by his majesty’s hand* for  
“ such sums so to be employed, or their equiva-  
“ lent. . . . There wants no endeavours to  
“ render you suspicious to the King, but he  
“ asked what proof there was for the infor-  
“ mation ? and bid me tell you to go on in  
“ your business ; *the best evidence of sincerity*

<sup>1</sup> Dal. Ap. Pt. ii. p. 211. *Highland Papers*, Maitland Club, 45.

“ *was the bringing that matter quickly to a conclusion. . . . I hope your lordship shall not only keep them from giving any offence, but bring them to take the allegiance, which they ought to do very cheerfully ; for their lives and fortunes they have from their majesties.*”<sup>1</sup>—STAIR to BREADALBANE.

Many other passages occur in the correspondence<sup>2</sup> showing the strong desire, on the part of the Master of Stair, that the Highlands should be pacified, if possible, by means of negotiation. In the next letter, however, we hear the low growl of the coming storm which was about to burst in consequence of his disappointment at the failure of his plans.

“ LONDON, Dec. 2, 1691.

“ My LORD,—Yours of the 16th past was very uneasy ; it’s a little qualified by that of the 19th. I know not by what I was moved to write to you eight days ago, as if I had known what these letters brought me ; and

<sup>1</sup> Dal. Ap., Pt. ii. p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> See Ibid., Pt. ii. *Highland Papers*, Maitland Club.

“ though what I wrote then was only to hasten  
“ matters, the lingering being of ill consequence,  
“ yet I never thought there was danger in the  
“ miscarrying of it. I confess I was desirous of  
“ your return upon the finishing of your negotia-  
“ tion ; but without that, or the having prevailed  
“ with one man, is what I never wish to see.

“ I am convinced it is neither your fault, nor  
“ can any prejudice arise to their Majesties’ ser-  
“ vice by the change of measures, but only ruin  
“ to the Highlanders ; but yet at the present  
“ settlement it would do yourself and your  
“ friends no advantage. . . . I doubt not  
“ but all will come right ; but though it is  
“ necessary you do seem to come hither, that  
“ they may rue, yet you had not best in my  
“ opinion leave it ; and here you cannot be be-  
“ fore our settlement, as I apprehend is in  
“ readiness. I shall not repeat my thoughts  
“ of your doited cousin.<sup>1</sup> I perceive half-sense  
“ will play a double game, but it requires solidity  
“ to embrace an opportunity, which to him will  
“ be lost for ever ; and the garrison of Inver-  
“ lochy is little worth, if he can either sleep

<sup>1</sup> Locheil.



“ in his own bounds, or if he ever be master  
“ there. *I repent nothing of the plan*, but  
“ what account can be given why Argyle should  
“ be forced to part with Ardnamurchan, to  
“ which Locheil hath no more pretence than I ?  
“ You cannot believe with what indifferency the  
“ King heard this matter, which did alarm and  
“ surprize us all, and confirmed the bold as-  
“ sertions of others against you. . . .  
“ Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, Deputy-Gover-  
“ nor of Inverlochy, is a discreet man ; you  
“ may make use of him. I should be glad  
“ to find, before you get any positive order,  
“ that your business is done, for shortly we  
“ will conclude a resolution for the winter  
“ campaign. . . . I think the clan Donell must  
“ be rooted out, and Locheil. Leave the  
“ M'Leans to Argyle. But [for] this, Leven  
“ and Argyle's regiments, with two more, would  
“ have been gone to Flanders. Now, all stops,  
“ and no more money from England to entertain  
“ them. God knows whether the £12,000 ster-  
“ ling had been better employed to settle the  
“ Highlands, or to ravage them ; but since we  
“ will make them desperate, I think we should

“root them out before they can get that help  
“they depend upon.”<sup>1</sup> — STAIR to BREADAL-  
BANE.

Even then the Master of Stair did not give up all hope. The following letter, written the very next day, contains so curious and valuable a picture of his state of mind that we give it entire :—

“LONDON, *December 3, 1691.*<sup>2</sup>

“MY LORD,—The last post brought Tarbat  
“letters from Glengarry, or from his lady, and  
“Rorry upon a message. Glengarry had sent  
“to him to Edinburg. *This hath furnished*  
“*him opportunity to discourse the King on all*  
“*these matters.* He tells me he hath vindicated  
“you ; only the share that the Macdonalds get  
“is too little, and unequal to your good cousin’s<sup>3</sup>  
“(really that’s true) ; and he would have the  
“money given to Glengarry, and leave Argyle  
“and him to deal for the plea. He thought his

<sup>1</sup> Dal. Ap., Pt. ii. p. 214.

“to Lord Breadalbin.—Desires

<sup>2</sup> In the Appendix to *Dalrymple’s Memoirs*, this letter is headed thus, “Secretary Stair

“his *mauling* scheme.”

<sup>3</sup> Locheil.

“ share had been only £1000 sterling. *I have*  
“ *satisfied the King in these points*, that his  
“ share is £1500 sterling, and that he nor  
“ none of them can get the money if Argyle  
“ consent not ; for that destroys all that is  
“ good in the settlement, which is to take away  
“ grounds of hereditary feuds. To be brief, I’ll  
“ assure you that I shall never consent any-  
“ body’s meddling shall be so much regarded as  
“ to get any of your terms altered. By the  
“ next I expect to hear *either that these people*  
“ *are come to your hand, or else your scheme*  
“ *for mauling them* ; for it will not delay. On  
“ the next week the officers will be despatched  
“ from this, with instructions to garrison Inver-  
“ garry, and Buchan’s regiment will join Leven,  
“ which will be force enough ; they will have  
“ petards and some cannon. *I am not changed*  
“ *as to the expediency of doing things by the*  
“ *easiest means and at leisure*, but the mad-  
“ ness of these people, and their ungratefulness  
“ to you, makes me plainly see there is no  
“ reckoning on them : but *delenda est Car-*  
“ *thago*. Yet who have accepted, and do take  
“ the oaths, will be safe, but deserve no kind-

“ness ; and even in that case there must be  
“hostages of their nearest relations, for there is  
“no regarding men’s words when their interest  
“cannot oblige. Menzies, Glengarry, and all of  
“them, have written letters and taken pains to  
“make it believed that all you did was for the  
“interest of King James. Therefore look on  
“*and you shall be satisfied of your revenge.*—  
“Adieu.”<sup>1</sup>

Two things (as we have already observed) are clear from this correspondence,—

1st, That up to December the Master of Stair was desirous to promote a peaceable and bloodless settlement with the Highland chieftains.

2d, That every step was communicated to William, and that so far from his having been, as Burnett and Lord Macaulay represent him,<sup>2</sup> kept in ignorance as to what was going on, he attended to all the minutiae of the affair, down even to the distribution of a small sum of money.

<sup>1</sup> Dal. App., Pit. ii. p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> BURNETT, 4, 154. MAC., vol. iv. p. 204.

Lord Macaulay cites two passages from these letters. One, that referring to the scheme for "mauling," which he attributes to Stair instead of to Breadalbane,<sup>1</sup> and the other to the "words "in which the implacable Roman pronounced "the doom of Carthage,"<sup>2</sup> which he refers to without quoting the sentence in which they occur, and exactly reversing the meaning of the passage. The Master of Stair expresses regret that this must take place, because other means had failed, and on account of the madness and ingratitude of the Highlanders. Lord Macaulay cites the expression as a proof of his implacable determination to destroy them. A reference to the letter shows at once the sense in which it is used. We know nothing in Lord Macaulay's History more unfair than his treatment of these letters, his knowledge of which is proved by the two instances in which he misquotes them.

We left M'Ian at Glencoe protected from the vindictiveness of Breadalbane by the treaty of the

<sup>1</sup> The passage in the letter leaves no doubt that the "scheme for mauing them" was Breadalbane's; whether the brutal ex-  
pression was his or Stair's is of little consequence.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv. p. 201.

30th of June. In August a proclamation was issued by the Government, offering a free indemnity and pardon to all Highlanders who had been in arms, upon their coming in and taking the oath of allegiance before the 1st of January following.<sup>1</sup> Breadalbane's negotiation failed, and he returned to court "to give an account of his "diligence, and to bring back the money."<sup>2</sup> Such is Burnett's account, and this is a point upon which, from his connection with William, he was likely to be well informed, and (what is of quite equal importance) it is one as to which he does not appear to have had any interest in misstating the facts.

About the end of December—such are the words of the *Report*—M'Ian<sup>3</sup> presented himself before Colonel Hill at Inverlochy, and desired that the oath of allegiance should be administered to him. Hill appears to have considered that, as a military officer, he had no power to administer the oath. He, however, advised M'Ian to go without delay to Sir Colin Campbell of Ardkin-

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, p. 14; *State Trials*, 1704; reprint of 1818. The *Report* will also be found in *State*

<sup>2</sup> BURNETT, vol. iv. p. 153. *Trials*, vol. xiii. p. 896.

<sup>3</sup> *Report*, p. 14; published



las, the sheriff-depute of Argyle, at Inverary, to whom he gave him a letter urging Ardkinlas to receive him "as a lost sheep."<sup>1</sup> M'Ian hastened to Inverary with all the speed that a country rough and destitute of roads and a tempestuous season would permit; he crossed Loch Leven within half a mile of his own house, but did not even turn aside to visit it. As he passed Barcaldine, which appears then to have been in the possession of Breadalbane,<sup>2</sup> he was seized upon by Captain Drummond (of whom we shall hear more presently), and detained twenty-four hours. He arrived at Inverary on the 2d or 3d of January; but here again luck was against him, for Ardkinlas (detained by the bad weather) did not arrive until three days afterwards. On the 6th of January, Ardkinlas, after some scruple, and upon the earnest solicitation of M'Ian, administered the oath.<sup>3</sup>

M'Ian returned to Glencoe, "called his people together, told them that he had taken the "oath of allegiance and made his peace, and "therefore desired and engaged them to live

<sup>1</sup> *Report.*

<sup>2</sup> *Report*, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Report*, p. 16.

“peaceably under King William’s government.”<sup>1</sup> He considered that he and his people were now safe. Ardkinlas forwarded a certificate that Glencoe had taken the oath, to Edinburgh, written on the same paper with some certificates relating to other persons. When the paper was afterwards produced by the clerk of the Council, Sir Gilbert Elliot, upon the occasion of the inquiry which took place some years afterwards, the part relating to Glencoe was found scored through and obliterated, but so, nevertheless, that it was still legible. Lord Macaulay attributes this—as he attributes everything foul—to the Master of Stair. “By a dark intrigue,” he says, “of which the history is but imperfectly known, “but which was in all probability directed by “the Master of Stair, the evidence of M‘Ian’s “tardy submission was suppressed.”<sup>2</sup> The circumstances are set forth in the *Report*, and do not appear to us to be shrouded in much mystery. Ardkinlas forwarded to his namesake, Colin Campbell, the sheriff-clerk of Argyle, who was in Edinburgh at the time, along with the certificates, Hill’s letter to himself, urging that

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv. p. 203.

he should receive "the lost sheep," and at the same time wrote how earnest Glencoe was to take the oath of allegiance—that he had taken it on the 6th of January, but that he (Ardkinlas) was doubtful if the Council would receive it.<sup>1</sup> The sheriff-clerk took the certificate to the clerks of the Council, Sir Gilbert Elliot and Mr David Moncrieff, who refused to receive it because the oath was taken after the time had expired. The sheriff-clerk and a Writer to the Signet, another Campbell, then applied to Lord Aberuchill, also a Campbell, who was a member of the Privy Council, who, after advising with some other privy councillors, of whom, according to one account, Lord Stair,<sup>2</sup> the father of the Master, was one, gave it as their opinion that the certificate could not be received with safety to Ardkinlas or advantage to Glencoe, without a warrant from the King. It was therefore obliterated, and in that condition given in to the clerk of the Council. But it did not appear

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Burton, in his *History of Scotland*, falls into a not unnatural, but rather important, mistake, which he will no doubt be

glad to correct, between the father and son, and states that the *Master of Stair* was consulted, &c.

that the matter was brought before the Council, "that their pleasure might be known upon it, "though it seemed to have been intended by "Ardkinlas, who both wrote himself and sent "Colonel Hill's letter for to make Glencoe's "excuse, and desired expressly to know the "Council's pleasure."<sup>1</sup> There appears to be nothing to connect the Master of Stair, who was in London at the time, with this transaction; indeed, his letter of the 9th of January, in which he says "that they have had an account that "Glencoe had taken the oaths at Inverary,"<sup>2</sup> and regrets his being safe; and that of the 11th, in which he says "that Argyle told him Glencoe "had not taken the oaths,"<sup>3</sup> seem conclusively to negative his having had any correct knowledge of what had taken place.

In the mean time, Breadalbane, eager to satisfy old grudges, and the Master of Stair, in whose mind disappointment for the failure of his scheme seems to have awakened a feeling of ferocity, the intenseness of which appears hardly compatible with sanity, had determined upon the destruction of the Glencoe men.

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Gal. Red.*, pp. 101, 104.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

Burnett states that the proposal for a military execution upon the Glencoe men emanated from Breadalbane ; that he had the double view of gratifying his own revenge and rendering the King hateful.<sup>1</sup> If this were so, he certainly attained both objects. Here, however, we find no guide whom we can safely follow, for Burnett's narrative, written long after, and with the manifest design of excusing William, is full of inaccuracies and false statements. We have, however, the fact, as to which there can be no doubt whatever, that the following order was signed by William on the 16th of January 1692 :—

*" 16th January 1692.*

" WILLIAM R.—1. The copy of that paper  
 " given by Macdonald of Aughtera to you hath  
 " been shown us. We did formerly grant passes  
 " to Buchan and Cannon, and we do authorise  
 " and allow you to grant passes to them, and  
 " for ten servants to each of them, to come  
 " freely and safely to Leith ; and from that to be  
 " transported to the Netherlands before the

<sup>1</sup> BURNETT, vol. iv. p. 153.

“ day of March next ; to go from thence when  
“ they please, without any stop or trouble.

“ 2. We do allow you to receive the sub-  
“ missions of Glengarry and those with him,  
“ upon their taking the oath of allegiance and  
“ delivering up the house of Invergarry ; to be  
“ safe as to their lives, but as to their estates  
“ they must depend upon our mercy.

“ 3. In case you find that the house of Inver-  
“ garry cannot probably be taken in this season  
“ of the year, with the artillery and other pro-  
“ visions you can bring there ; in that case *we*  
“ *leave it to your discretion to give Glengarry*  
“ *the assurance of entire indemnity for life*  
“ *and fortune, upon delivering of the house*  
“ *and arms, and taking the oath of allegiance.*  
“ In this you are allowed to act as you find the  
“ circumstances of the affair do require ; but it  
“ were much better that those who have not  
“ taken the benefit of our indemnity in the  
“ terms, and within the diet prefixt by our  
“ proclamation, they should be obliged to ren-  
“ der upon mercy. And the taking the oath  
“ of allegiance is indispensable, others having  
“ already taken it.



“ 4. If M'Ean of Glencoe and that trybe can  
 “ be well separated from the rest, it will be a  
 “ proper vindication of the public justice to  
 “ extirpate that sect of thieves. The double of  
 “ these instructions is only communicated to  
 “ Colonel Hill.—W. REX.”—*Instructions from*  
*the KING to Sir THOMAS LIVINGSTON.*<sup>1</sup>

The advocates of William have framed various defences for this act. Burnett says he signed the order without inquiry.<sup>2</sup> Lord Macaulay sees, as every one must, that it is impossible to support this in the face of the facts. He takes the bolder course, and justifies the order. He says that, “even on the supposition that  
 “ he read the order to which he affixed his  
 “ name, there seems to be *no reason for blam-*  
 “ *ing him*”—that the words of the order “na-  
 “ turally bear a sense *perfectly innocent*, and  
 “ would, but for the horrible event which fol-  
 “ lowed, have been universally understood in  
 “ that sense. It is undoubtedly one of the first  
 “ duties of every government to extirpate gangs

<sup>1</sup> *Highland Papers*, p. 65. See *Culloden Papers*, p. 19.  
 the duplicate addressed to Hill,      <sup>2</sup> BURNETT, vol. iv. p. 154.

“ of thieves. This does not mean that every  
“ thief ought to be treacherously assassinated in  
“ his sleep, or even that every thief ought to be  
“ publicly executed after a fair trial, but that  
“ every gang, as a gang, ought to be completely  
“ broken up, and that whatever severity is indis-  
“ pensably necessary for that end ought to be  
“ used.

“ If William had read and weighed the words  
“ which were submitted to him by his secretary,  
“ he would probably have understood them to  
“ mean that Glencoe was to be occupied by  
“ troops ; that resistance, if resistance were at-  
“ tempted, was to be put down with a strong  
“ hand ; that severe punishment was to be in-  
“ flicted on those leading members of the clan  
“ who could be proved to have been guilty of  
“ great crimes ; that some active young free-  
“ booters, who were more used to handle the  
“ broadsword than the plough, and who did not  
“ seem likely to settle down into quiet labourers,  
“ were to be sent to the army in the Low Coun-  
“ tries ; that others were to be transported to  
“ the American plantations ; and that those  
“ Macdonalds who were suffered to remain in

“ their native valley were to be disarmed, and  
“ required to give hostages for good behaviour.”<sup>1</sup>

We can hardly suppose that Lord Macaulay intended his readers to accept these transparent sophisms as his deliberate opinion. We suspect he is laughing in his sleeve at the credulity of the public. The only charge against the Macdonalds was that they had been in arms against the Government, and had omitted to take the oaths of allegiance before a specified day. There was no question before William of any suppression of a “gang of freebooters.” There was no accusation even of offences committed against life or property. But supposing there had been such a charge—supposing that Breadalbane had accused certain individuals of the tribe of stealing his cows, or even of firing his house, does Lord Macaulay mean gravely to assert that such an accusation would have justified William, without inquiry or trial, in issuing an order for the “extirpation” of three hundred men, women, and children, simply for bearing the name and owning the blood of the offenders?

Hardly a month passes without worse offences

than any the Glencoe men have ever been accused of, being committed at the present time in Ireland. What would Lord Macaulay think of a government that proceeded to "extirpate" by military execution, without trial and without warning, all the inhabitants of the parish where a murder had been committed, with particular instructions that the squire of the parish should by no means be allowed to escape?

If the order is to be justified, as Lord Macaulay here attempts to justify it, as an act of the civil power done in execution of "one of the "first duties of every government," it should have been preceded by the trial and conviction of the offenders. It should have been addressed, not to the military governor of Inverlochy, but to the Lord Advocate or the sheriff-depute of the county. The attempt to justify the order on the ground of its being a civil act, is clearly untenable; and Lord Macaulay himself subsequently abandons it when he attempts to justify William for not inflicting punishment on the perpetrators of the act, on the ground that they were compelled to do it by the military duty of obedience to their superior officers. If

the subject were less horrible, if the duties of an historian were less solemn, Lord Macaulay's attempt to introduce a new meaning for the word "extirpate" would be simply amusing. We are quite satisfied to abide by the authority of Johnson and of old Bailey the "*φιλόλογος*," who agree that it means to "root out," "to destroy;" and we have no doubt William knew enough of English to attach the same meaning to the word.<sup>1</sup>

This order, it will be observed, is dated on the 16th of January. Few facts in history are proved by better evidence than the fact (denied both by Burnett and Lord Macaulay<sup>2</sup>) that William, at the time he signed it, knew that M'Ian had taken the oath.

A reference to the Master of Stair's letters of the 25th of June, 20th of September, and 3d of December, will show how minute an attention was paid by the King to all that was going on in Scotland with relation to the clans. On the

<sup>1</sup> The example given by Johnson is the following:—"We in —LOCKE.

"vain attempt to drive the wolf <sup>2</sup> BURNETT, vol. iv. p. 154;  
"from our own door to another's MAC., vol. iv. p. 204.  
"door. The breed ought to be

9th of January, the Master of Stair wrote from London, where he was in constant communication with William,—“ We have an account that “ Lockart and Macnaughten, Appin and Glenco, “ took the benefit of the indemnity at Inver- “ aray;” and he adds : “ I have been with the “ King ; he says your instructions shall be de- “ spatched on Monday.”<sup>1</sup> When we couple these facts with the subsequent impunity which William granted to all, and the rewards he bestowed upon some of those who executed the order, we think no reasonable doubt can be entertained that he knew both the fact that Glencoe had taken the oath and the nature of the warrant he gave, though we do not think that he contemplated (indeed it was hardly possible he should) the peculiar circumstances of treachery and barbarity which attended the execution of the order.

Most of the accounts of these transactions give only the concluding paragraph of the order. The whole of the document is material. It contains internal evidence which places it beyond doubt that William had considered and

<sup>1</sup> *Gal. Red.*, p. 101-104.



approved of its contents. The particular directions as to the passes to be granted to Buchan and Cannon, the instructions as to the line to be pursued with regard to Glengarry, bear the marks of having been under his consideration ; and it is particularly deserving of observation that it is assumed that Glengarry and the Macdonalds had not taken the oaths, yet they were to be safe as to their lives, and in certain circumstances as to their property also, whilst Glencoe and the M'ians were to be "extirpated." The only circumstance to distinguish Macdonald of Glengarry from M'Ian of Glencoe being, that the former was at that moment holding his castle in open and avowed defiance, whilst the latter had taken the oath of allegiance, and had brought his people into a state of peaceful submission to the Government. Yet Lord Macaulay thinks that there is "no reason for blaming" the King for signing an order to spare Glengarry and to "extirpate" Glencoe, and that the order itself was "perfectly innocent."

The Master of Stair lost no time in putting William's commands into execution. He forwarded the order forthwith in duplicate to Liv-

ingstone, the commander of the forces, and to Hill, the governor of the garrison of Inverlochy; and he wrote on the 16th January, the very day on which the order was signed, the following letter to the former :—

“LONDON, Jan. 16, 1692.

“SIR,—By this flying packet I send you  
“further instructions concerning the proposi-  
“tions by Glengarry; none know what they  
“are but only Col. Hill, &c. . . . *The King*  
“*does not at all incline to receive any after*  
“*the diet but on mercy, &c.* . . . But, for  
“a just example of vengeance, I intreat that  
“the thieving tribe of Glenco may be rooted  
“out in earnest. . . . Let me know whether  
“you would have me expedite your commission  
“as a brigadier of the army in general, or if  
“you would rather want it *till the end of this*  
“*expedition; that I hope your success may*  
“*be such as to incline the King to give you a*  
“*farther advancement,*” &c.—STAIR to LIV-  
INGSTONE.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Highland Papers*, 66.

He wrote on the same day to Hill :—

“I shall entreat you, that for a just vengeance and public example the thieving tribe of Glenco may be rooted out<sup>1</sup> to purpose. The Earls of Argile and Breadalbane have promised they shall have no retreat in their bounds. The passes to Rannoch would be secured, &c. A party that may be posted in Island Stalker must cut them off,” &c.<sup>2</sup>

Again on the 30th of January he wrote :—  
 “. . . Let it be secret and sudden. . . . It must be quietly done, otherwise they will make shift both for the men and their cattle. Argyle’s detachment lies in Keppoch well<sup>3</sup> to assist the garrison to do all on a sudden.”<sup>4</sup>

Other letters from the Master of Stair contain expressions even more savage. In one of them he informs Livingstone with exultation that a report had reached him, through Argyle, that Glencoe had not taken the oath ; but these which we have quoted refer immediately and

<sup>1</sup> It is worth a passing notice that the expression of Stair, “*rooted out*,” is the precise equivalent for William’s *extirpate*.

<sup>2</sup> *Highland Papers*, Maitland Club, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> In other copies these words are “in Lettrickwheel.”

<sup>4</sup> *Gal. Red.*, 102. *Report*, 31.

expressly to William's order for "extirpation" of the 16th of January.

Hill was a time-serving but not an inhuman man. He had kept in with every government since the Commonwealth, but he had no taste for unnecessary bloodshed, though he had not manliness or courage to oppose the slaughter. Ready agents were, however, found in Sir Thomas Livingstone, Lieut.-Col. Hamilton, Major Duncanson, Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, Captain Drummond, and the two Lindsays. These names have been handed down to an immortality of infamy, as the willing and remorseless tools of the King, of Breadalbane, and the Master of Stair, in the work of murder. On the 23d of January, immediately after the receipt of the Master's letter of the 16th, Sir Thomas Livingstone wrote to Lieut.-Col. Hamilton as follows :—

“EDINBURGH, *Jan.* 23, 1692.

“SIR,—Since my last I understand that the  
“Laird of Glencoe, coming after the prefixt  
“time, was not admitted to take the oath—*which*  
“*is very good news to us here, being that at*

“ *Court it is wished that he had not taken it*  
 “ —so that the very nest might be entirely  
 “ routed out ; for the secretary, in three of his  
 “ last letters, has made mention of him, and it  
 “ is known at Court that he has not taken it.  
 “ So, sir, here is a fair occasion to show you  
 “ that your garrison serves for some use ; *and*  
 “ *being that the order is so positive from*  
 “ *Court to me not to spare any of them that*  
 “ were not timeously come in, as you may see  
 “ by the orders I sent to your colonel, I desire  
 “ you would begin with Glenco, and spare no-  
 “ thing of what belongs to them ; *but do not*  
 “ *trouble the Government with prisoners.* I  
 “ shall expect with the first occasion to hear the  
 “ progress you have made in this, and remain,  
 “ sir, your obedient servant,

“ T. LIVINGSTONE.”<sup>1</sup>

Hamilton lost no time.<sup>2</sup> Campbell of Glen-

<sup>1</sup> *Culloden Papers*, 19. *Highland Papers*, Maitland Club, 68. *Report*, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Just one hundred years after these events, in 1791, the opening of the roads and the establishment of posts are mentioned

as having had so great an effect that “ a letter might come from “ Edinburgh to Appin in three “ days, or even two days and a “ half.”—SINCLAIR’S *Statistical Account of the Highlands*, vol. i. p. 497.

lyon was selected for the service. On the 1st of February 1692 he entered the glen with his two subalterns, Lieutenant and Ensign Lindsay, and one hundred and twenty men. The story of the massacre has been told in eloquent prose and in impassioned verse, but never, in our opinion, so vividly, so impressively, as in the words of the *Report* of 1695 :—

“ The slaughter of the Glenco men was in  
“ this manner—viz. : John and Alexander Mac-  
“ donald, sons to the deceased Glenco, depone  
“ that, Glengary’s house being reduced, the  
“ forces were called back to the south, and Glen-  
“ lyon, a captain of the Earl of Argyle’s regi-  
“ ment, with Lieutenant Lindsay and Ensign  
“ Lindsay, and six-score soldiers, returned to  
“ Glenco about the 1st of February 1692, where  
“ at their entry the elder brother John met  
“ them, with about twenty men, and demanded  
“ the reason of their coming ; and Lieutenant  
“ Lindsay showed him his orders for quartering  
“ there, under Colonel Hill’s hand, and gave  
“ assurance that they were only come to quarter ;  
“ whereupon they were billeted in the country,  
“ and had free quarters and kind entertainment,



“ living familiarly with the people until the 13th  
“ day of February. And Alexander further  
“ depones, that Glenlyon, being his wife’s uncle,  
“ came almost every day and took his morning  
“ drink at his house ; and that the very night  
“ before the slaughter, Glenlyon did play at  
“ cards in his own quarters with both the  
“ brothers. And John depones, that old Glenco,  
“ his father, had invited Glenlyon, Lieutenant  
“ Lindsay, and Ensign Lindsay, to dine with him  
“ upon the very day the slaughter happened.”

Here we must break in upon the narrative.  
and show how this 12th of February, which was  
passed by Glenlyon in playing cards with the  
young Macdonalds in his quarters, and receiving  
invitations from their father, was employed by  
Hill, Hamilton, and Duncanson. This will ap-  
pear from the following letters, all of which are  
dated on that day :—

“ FORT-WILLIAM, 12th Feb. 1692.

“ SIR,—You are, with four hundred of my  
“ regiment, and the four hundred of my Lord  
“ Argyle’s regiment under the command of Major  
“ Duncanson, to march straight to Glenco, and

“ there put in execution the orders you have  
 “ received from the Commander-in-Chief. Given  
 “ under my hand at Fort-William the 12th  
 “ [Feb.] 1692. J. HILL.”—Col. HILL to Lieut.-  
 Col. HAMILTON.<sup>1</sup>

(?)<sup>2</sup> “BALLICHYLLS, 12th Feb. 1692.

“ SIR,—Persuant to the Commander-in-Chief  
 “ and my colonel’s order to me, for putting in  
 “ execution the King’s command against these  
 “ rebels of Glenco, wherein you, with the party  
 “ of the Earl of Argyll’s regiment under your  
 “ command, are to be concerned: you are,  
 “ therefore, forthwith to order your affairs so as  
 “ that the several posts already assigned you  
 “ be by you and your several detachments faln  
 “ in activeness. precisely by five of the clock  
 “ to-morrow morning, being Saturday; at which  
 “ time I will endeavour the same with those  
 “ appointed from this regiment for the other

<sup>1</sup> *Highland Papers*, Maitland Club, 74. *Report*, p. 32. Hamilton had received his orders direct from Livingstone. Hill says, “that for himself he liked not the business, but was very grieved at it.”—*Report*, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> “Fort-William” in other copies, and apparently correct. See the order in the P.S. to have the boats on *this* side to prevent the escape of the victims.—*Highland Papers*, 74.

“ places. It will be most necessary you secure  
 “ well those avenues on the south side, that the  
 “ old fox, nor none of his cubs, get away. The  
 “ orders are, that none be spared of the sword,  
 “ nor the Government troubled with prisoners ;  
 “ which is all until I see you, from, sir, your  
 “ most humble servant—JAMES HAMILTON.

“ Please to order a guard to secure the ferry  
 “ and boats there ; and the boats must be all on  
 “ this side the ferry after your men are over.”—  
 LIEUT.-COL. HAMILTON to MAJOR ROBT. DUN-  
 CANSON.<sup>1</sup>

“ 12th Feb. 1692.

“ SIR,—You are hereby ordered to fall upon  
 “ the rebels, the Macdonalds of Glenco, and put  
 “ all to the sword under seventy. You are to  
 “ have an especial care that the old fox and his  
 “ sons do not escape your hands ;<sup>2</sup> you are to  
 “ secure all the avenues that no man escape.  
 “ This you are to put in execution at five of the  
 “ clock precisely ; and by that time, or very  
 “ shortly after it, I will strive to be at you with

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, p. 33. *Highland Papers*, Maitland Club, 74. your hands.”—*Highland Papers*, 73.

<sup>2</sup> “Do on no account escape

“ a stronger party. If I do not come to you at  
 “ five, you are not to tarry for me, but to fall  
 “ on. *This is by the King’s special command,*  
 “ *for the good and safety of the country, that*  
 “ *these miscreants be cut off, root and branch.*  
 “ See that this<sup>1</sup> be put in execution without fear  
 “ or favour, or you may expect to be dealt with  
 “ as one not true to King or Government, nor a  
 “ man fit to carry commission in the King’s  
 “ service. Expecting you will not fail in the  
 “ fulfilling hereof, as you love yourself—I sub-  
 “ scribe this with my hand at Ballychylls the  
 “ 12th Feb. 1692. ROBERT DUNCANSON.”—  
 Major ROBERT DUNCANSON to Captain ROBERT  
 CAMPBELL of Glenlyon.<sup>2</sup>

We now return to the narrative of events in Glencoe, and the mode in which Glenlyon executed these orders.

“ But on the 13th day of February, being  
 “ Saturday, about four or five in the morning,  
 “ Lieutenant Lindsay, with a party of the fore-  
 “ said soldiers, came to old Glenco’s house, where,

<sup>1</sup> “So that this,” &c.—*Highland Club*, pp. 72, 73, for two copies of this letter.

<sup>2</sup> See *Highland Papers*, Mait-

“ having called in a friendly manner, and got in,  
“ they shot his father dead, with several shots,  
“ as he was rising out of his bed ; and their  
“ mother having got up and put on her clothes,  
“ the soldiers stripped her naked, and drew the  
“ rings off her fingers with their teeth ; as like-  
“ wise they killed one man more, and wounded  
“ another grievously at the same place. And  
“ this relation they say they had from their  
“ mother, and is confirmed by the deposition of  
“ Archibald Macdonald, indweller in Glenco,  
“ who further depones that Glenco was shot be-  
“ hind his back with two shots—one through the  
“ head and another through the body ; and two  
“ more were killed with him in that place, and  
“ a third wounded and left for dead : and this  
“ he knows, because he came that same day to  
“ Glenco House, and saw his dead body lying  
“ before the door, with the other two that were  
“ killed, and spoke with the third that was  
“ wounded, whose name was Duncan Don, who  
“ came there occasionally with letters from the  
“ Brae of Mar.

“ The said John Macdonald, eldest son to the  
“ deceased Glenco, depones : The same morning

“ that his father was killed there came soldiers  
“ to his house before day, and called at his  
“ window, which gave him the alarm, and made  
“ him go to Innerriggen, where Glenlyon was  
“ quartered ; and that he found Glenlyon and  
“ his men preparing their arms, which made the  
“ deponent ask the cause ; but Glenlyon gave  
“ him only good words, and said they were to  
“ march against some of Glengarrie’s men ; and  
“ if they were ill intended, would he not have  
“ told Sandy and his niece ?—meaning the de-  
“ ponent’s brother and his wife—which made the  
“ deponent go home and go again to his bed,  
“ until his servant, who hindered him to sleep,  
“ roused him ; and when he rose and went out,  
“ he perceived about twenty men coming towards  
“ his house, with their bayonets fixed to their  
“ muskets ; whereupon he fled to the hill, and  
“ having Auchnaion, a little village in Glenco, in  
“ view, he heard the shots wherewith Auchin-  
“ triaten and four more were killed ; and that he  
“ heard also the shots at Innerriggen, where  
“ Glenlyon had caused to kill nine more, as shall  
“ be hereafter declared ; and this is confirmed  
“ by the concurring deposition of Alexander



“ Macdonald, his brother, whom a servant waked  
“ out of sleep, saying, It is no time for you  
“ to be sleeping when they are killing your bro-  
“ ther at the door; which made Alexander to  
“ flee with his brother to the hill, where both  
“ of them heard the foresaid shots at Auch-  
“ naion and Innerriggen. And the said John,  
“ Alexander, and Archibald Macdonald do all  
“ depone, that the same morning there was one  
“ Serjeant Barber with a party at Auchnaion,  
“ and that Auchintriaten being there in his  
“ brother’s house, with eight more sitting about  
“ the fire, the soldiers discharged upon them  
“ about eighteen shots, which killed Auchin-  
“ triaten and four more; but the other four,  
“ whereof some were wounded, falling down as  
“ dead, Serjeant Barber laid hold of Auchin-  
“ triaten’s brother, one of the four, and asked  
“ him if he were alive? He answered that he  
“ was, and that he desired to die without rather  
“ than within. Barber said, that for his meat  
“ that he had eaten, he would do him the favour  
“ to kill him without; but when the man was  
“ brought out, and soldiers brought up to shoot  
“ him, he having his plaid loose, flung it over

“ their faces, and so escaped ; and the other three  
“ broke through the back of the house, and  
“ escaped. And at Innerriggen, where Glenlyon  
“ was quartered, the soldiers took other nine  
“ men, and did bind them hand and foot, and  
“ killed them one by one with shot ; and when  
“ Glenlyon inclined to save a young man of  
“ about twenty years of age, one Captain Drum-  
“ mond came and asked how he came to be  
“ saved, in respect of the orders that were given,  
“ and shot him dead. And another young boy,  
“ of about thirteen years, ran to Glenlyon to be  
“ saved ; he was likewise shot dead. And in the  
“ same town there was a woman, and a boy  
“ about four or five years of age, killed. And  
“ at Auchnaion there was also a child missed,  
“ and nothing found of him but the hand. There  
“ were likewise several killed at other places,  
“ whereof one was an old man about eighty years  
“ of age. And all this, the deponents say, they  
“ affirm, because they heard the shot, saw the  
“ dead bodies, and had an account from the  
“ women that were left. And Ronald Mac-  
“ donald, indweller in Glenco, farther depones :  
“ That he being living with his father in a little

“ town in Glenco, some of Glenlyon’s soldiers  
“ came to his father’s house, the said 13th day  
“ of February, in the morning, and dragged his  
“ father out of his bed, and knocked him down  
“ for dead at the door ; which the deponent  
“ seeing, made his escape ; and his father re-  
“ covering after the soldiers were gone, got into  
“ another house ; but this house was shortly  
“ burnt, and his father burnt in it ; and the  
“ deponent came there after and gathered his  
“ father’s bones and buried them. He also  
“ declares, that at Auchnaion, where Auchin-  
“ triaten was killed, he saw the body of Auchin-  
“ triaten and three more cast out and covered  
“ with dung. And another witness of the same  
“ declares, that upon the same 13th day of Feb-  
“ ruary, Glenlyon and Lieutenant Lindsay, and  
“ their soldiers, did, in the morning before day,  
“ fall upon the people of Glenco, when they were  
“ secure in their beds, and killed them ; and he  
“ being at Innerriggen, fled with the first, but  
“ heard shots, and had two brothers killed there,  
“ with three men more and a woman, who were all  
“ buried before he came back. And all these five  
“ witnesses concur that the aforesaid slaughter

“ was made by Glenlyon and his soldiers, after  
“ they had been quartered, and lived peaceably  
“ and friendly with the Glenco men about thir-  
“ teen days, and that the number of those whom  
“ they knew to be slain were about twenty-five,  
“ and that the soldiers, after the slaughter, did  
“ burn the houses, barns, and goods, and carried  
“ away a great spoil of horse, nolt, and sheep,  
“ above 1000. And James Campbell, soldier in  
“ the castle of Stirling, depones: that in January  
“ 1692, he then being a soldier in Glenlyon’s  
“ company, marched with the company from  
“ Inverlochic to Glenco, where the company  
“ was quartered, and very kindly entertained  
“ for the space of fourteen days ; that he knew  
“ nothing of the design of killing the Glenco  
“ men till the morning that the slaughter was  
“ committed, at which time Glenlyon and Cap-  
“ tain Drummond’s companies were drawn out  
“ in several parties, and got orders from Glen-  
“ lyon and their other officers to shoot and kill  
“ all the countrymen they met with ; and that  
“ the deponent, being one of the party which  
“ was at the town where Glenlyon had his quar-  
“ ters, did see several men drawn out of their

“ beds, and particularly he did see Glenlyon’s  
“ own landlord shot by his order, and a young  
“ boy about twelve years of age, who endea-  
“ voured to save himself by taking hold of Glen-  
“ lyon, offering to go anywhere with him if he  
“ would spare his life ; and was shot dead by  
“ Captain Drummond’s order. And the depo-  
“ nent did see about eight persons killed and  
“ several houses burnt, and women flying to the  
“ hills to save their lives. And lastly, Sir Colin  
“ Campbell of Aberuchil depones : that after the  
“ slaughter, Glenlyon told him that Macdonald  
“ of Innerriggen was killed with the rest of the  
“ Glenco men, with Colonel Hill’s pass or pro-  
“ tection in his pocket, which a soldier brought  
“ and showed to Glenlyon.”

Some circumstances still remain strangely obscure. We have been unable to discover whether the clan gave up their arms when they made their submission to the Government. It is difficult to suppose that a fact which would add so greatly to the atrocity of the deed should have been passed over unnoticed ; yet it is equally difficult to suppose that a body of from fifty to a hundred men, trained to arms, should have

permitted themselves, their wives, and children, to be butchered without striking a single blow in their defence ; and unequal as the numbers were, and sudden as was the attack, it can hardly be supposed that such defence would have been wholly without effect.

Another point which has never been cleared up, relates to the plunder of the glen by the troops. The soldiers of William, who, according to Lord Macaulay, were executing justice upon thieves and marauders, did not content themselves with murder, but added the crimes of robbery and arson. The flocks and herds, the only movables of value, were swept away, and all that could not be removed was ruthlessly burned. The plunder was considerable—above a thousand head of cattle, horses, and sheep rewarded the murderers. Of this they appear to have retained quiet possession ; at least we can nowhere trace any act of restitution. The Parliament of Scotland addressed the King, recommending that some reparation might be made to the survivors of the massacre for their losses, and “ such orders given for supplying their necessities as his majesty should think fit.” Wil-



liam was deaf to their prayer. The only effect was the remission of a cess which had been imposed upon the valley, and which they appear to have been utterly unable to pay.<sup>1</sup>

Such is the story of the massacre of Glencoe. Lord Macaulay observes—"It may be thought "strange that these events should not have been "followed by a burst of execration from every "part of the civilised world."<sup>2</sup> It would have been strange, indeed, had they passed unnoticed. Official publication in England was of course suppressed. The London Gazettes, the monthly Mercuries, and the licensed pamphlets were silent. But the *Paris Gazette*, of April 1692, under date of the 23d March (less than six weeks after the event), has the following announcement:—

"D'EDIMBOURG, 23 Mars 1692.

"Le Laird de Glencow a esté massacré depuis quelques jours, de la manière la plus barbare, quoy qu'il se fust soûmis au Gouvernement présent. Le Laird de Glenlion, capitaine dans le régiment d'Argyle, suivant l'ordre exprés du Colonel Hill, gouverneur

<sup>1</sup> *Highland Papers*, Mait. Cl.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv. p. 213.

“ d’Inverlochie, se transporta la nuit à Glencow,  
“ avec un corps de troupes ; et les soldats estant  
“ entrez dans les maisons, tüerent le Laird de  
“ Glencow, deux de ses fils, trente six hommes  
“ ou enfans et quatre femmes.

“ Ils avoient résolu d’exterminer ainsi le reste  
“ des habitans, *nonobstant l’amnestie qui leur*  
“ *avoit esté accordée* : mais environ deux cents  
“ se sauvèrent. On fait courir le bruit qu’il a  
“ esté tué dans une embuscade les armes à la  
“ main, pour diminuer l’horreur d’une action si  
“ barbare, capable de faire connoistre à toute la  
“ nation, le peu de sureté qu’il y a dans les  
“ paroles de cuix qui gouvernement.”<sup>1</sup>

Lord Macaulay cites this passage in the following words, “ The Jacobite version, written at  
“ Edinburgh on the twenty-third of March, appeared in the *Paris Gazette* of the seventh of  
“ April. Glenlyon, it was said, had been sent  
“ with a detachment from Argyle’s regiment,  
“ under cover of darkness, to surprise the inhabitants of Glencoe, and had killed thirty-six  
“ men and boys and four women ;” and adds,

<sup>1</sup> *Paris Gazette*, 12 Avril 1692.

“In this there was nothing very strange or “shocking.”<sup>1</sup> We confess ourselves wholly unable to understand this. If murder committed in violation of pledged faith is not shocking, we should be glad to know what is. The gazette which Lord Macaulay quotes, and which he must therefore be presumed to have read, states that Glencoe had “submitted himself to the “existing Government;” that the attack was made under cover of night, and upon peaceful people; that women and children were slaughtered; and that the intention was to “exterminate” the whole of the inhabitants, “in breach of an “amnesty which had been granted to them.”

Nobody suspects Lord Macaulay of inhumanity or of a want of sympathy with the innocent victims of cruelty and treachery; but it is much to be regretted that his eager partisanship should have led him to adopt a course of argument, and to make use of expressions, from which it might be inferred that he was deficient in qualities which, it is well known, he possesses in a high degree.

A detailed and very accurate account, en-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. p. 214.

titled "A Letter from a Gentleman in Scotland  
"to his Friend in London, &c." dated April  
20, 1692, next appeared. Lord Macaulay intimates his opinion that this letter was not published until the following year, and reminds his readers that the date of 1692 was at that time used down to the 25th March 1693. But Lord Macaulay has failed to observe that the date of the letter is *April*, and April 1692 was always April 1692.

It is no doubt difficult to fix the precise date—great obstacles were thrown in the way of publication. But the contents of the letter were certainly known in London before June 1692, for in that month Charles Leslie, the writer of the *Gallienus Redivivus*, went in consequence of this letter to Brentford, where Glenlyon and Drummond, with the rest of Lord Argyle's regiment, were quartered, and there heard the account of the massacre from the soldiers who had been actors in it, one of whom said, "Glen-coe hangs about Glenlyon night and day; "*you may see him in his face.*"<sup>1</sup>

It is strange that Lord Macaulay, who is not

<sup>1</sup> *Gal. Red.*, p. 92.

scrupulous as to the sacrifices he makes for the sake of the picturesque, should have lost the poetry of this passage by using a doubtful term, substituting a place for a person, and a prosaic paraphrase for the simple words and poetical imagination of the Highlander who saw the image of the murdered man reflected in the face of his murderer.<sup>1</sup>

The *Gallienus Redivivus*, which, Lord Macaulay says, “speedily followed,” did not appear until after the execution of the commission in 1695. Lord Macaulay bestows a note<sup>2</sup> upon the singular name of this pamphlet, which deserves a passing notice, as it betrays the care with which he has availed himself of every opportunity to divert indignation from William to the Master of Stair. He says,<sup>3</sup> “An un-  
“learned, and indeed, a learned reader may be  
“at a loss to guess why the Jacobites should have  
“selected so strange a title for a pamphlet on

<sup>1</sup> Lord Macaulay's words are as follows: “Some of his soldiers, however, who observed him closely, whispered that all this bravery was put on. He was not the man that he had been before that night.”

“The form of his countenance was changed. In all places, at all hours, whether he waked or slept, Glencoe was for ever before him.”—Vol. iv. p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> See note, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. iv. p. 213.

“the massacre of Glencoe.” The reader, learned or unlearned, who found himself at any loss in the matter, must be singularly stupid, inasmuch as the reason is fully stated at page 107 of the pamphlet, where a parallel is drawn between William and the Emperor Gallienus, and a comparison instituted between the “Extirpation” order of the former, and a letter of the Emperor to Venianus. This letter, which the writer of the pamphlet quotes, and which Gibbon describes as “a most savage mandate from Gallienus to “one of his ministers after the suppression of “Ingenuus, who had assumed the purple in “Illyricum,”<sup>1</sup> concludes, Lord Macaulay tells us, with the following words:—“language to “which,” he says, “*that of the Master of Stair bore but too much resemblance;*” “Non “mihi satisfacies, si tantum armatos occideris, “quos et fors belli interimere potuisset. Perimendus est omnis sexus virilis. Occidendus “est quicumque maledixit. Occidendus est quicumque male voluit. Lacera. Occide. Con- “cide.”<sup>2</sup> Dealing with a book which is in the

<sup>1</sup> GIBBON, *Decline and Fall*,  
vol. i. p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> MAC., vol. iv. p. 213.



hands of so few as the *Gallienus Redivivus*, Lord Macaulay's treatment of this passage is hardly fair. The parallel drawn by the writer is not, as the reader of Lord Macaulay might be led to suppose, between Gallienus and the Master of Stair, but as we have already stated between Gallienus and William. The passage is given entire in the pamphlet, as follows, the words which we put in italics being omitted by Lord Macaulay. "Non mihi satisfacies, si  
 " tantum armatos occideris, quos et fors belli  
 " interimere potuisset. Perimendus est omnis  
 " sexus virilis, *si et senes atque impuberes sine*  
 " *reprehensione nostra occidi possent.* Occi-  
 " dendus est quicumque male voluit. Occidendus  
 " est quicumque *male dixit contra me, contra*  
 " *Valeriani filium, contra tot principum pa-*  
 " *trem et fratrem.* *Ingenuus factus est im-*  
 " *perator.* Lacera, occide, concide: *animum*  
 " *meum intelligere potes, mea mente irascere*  
 " *qui hæc manu mea scripsi."*

The order to "exterminate" without sparing either age or youth, the signature of the letter by the very hand of the emperor, the expressions which peculiarly mark it as his own personal act,

as the immediate emanation of his own mind, are omitted by Lord Macaulay, who substitutes the Master of Stair for William, and his letters for the "extirpation" order, and garbles the quotation to make it fit.

We owe the knowledge we derive of the massacre from the evidence taken before the Commission to a fortunate combination of circumstances.

The excitement of public feeling rendered it impossible for William to resist the demand for inquiry, and the jealousy of Johnston made that inquiry searching and complete, with the view of destroying his colleague, the Master of Stair. We agree with Lord Macaulay, that the report of the commission is an "excellent digest of evidence."<sup>1</sup> The character of "austere justice," which he claims for it, we wholly deny. "The conclusion," says Lord Macaulay, "to which the commission came, and *in which every intelligent and candid inquirer will concur*, was that the slaughter of Glencoe was a barbarous murder, and *that of this barbarous murder the letters of the Master of Stair*

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. p. 574.

*“ were the sole warrant and cause.”*<sup>1</sup> At the risk of having our intelligence or our candour denied by Lord Macaulay, we are compelled to dissent from the latter portion of this judgment. Admitting in its full extent the atrocity of these letters, they formed, in our opinion, but a small and secondary part of the cause of the slaughter. There was another greater than Stair, or than Breadalbane, who must, according to the “*aus-  
tere justice*” of history, bear a larger share of the responsibility for this great crime than either of them. Lord Macaulay misleads his readers, and obscures the question, by treating the slaughter, when it suits his purpose, as the exercise of a wild and irregular justice against a band of murderers and freebooters. To prepare the mind of the reader, he evokes from past centuries horrible tales of outrages committed by the remote ancestors of the Macdonalds of Glengarry on the people of Culloden, by the inhabitants of Eig on the Macleods, and by the Macleods again on the people of Eig. He narrates a story, unsupported by a single tittle of evidence, of M‘Ian

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. p. 574.

having at some former period executed with his own hand the wild justice of the tribe on a member of his own clan.<sup>1</sup> He likens the Macdonalds to the mosstroopers of the Border and the banditti of the Apennines, to the savages of Caffraria and Borneo, to Amakosah cattle-stealers and Malay pirates, and describes them as “marauders who, in any well-governed country, “would have been hanged thirty years before.”<sup>2</sup> Lord Macaulay is an accomplished advocate, and is well aware of the effect that declamation of this kind will produce on the minds of nine out of ten of his readers. The tenth man knows that he has the testimony of Colonel Hill to the quiet, peaceable, and honest demeanour of the Highlanders, and the conclusive fact, that during the whole of the inquiry, though abundance of hard language was used, there was no attempt to bring even a single charge of any offence whatever against the Macdonalds of Glencoe. This puts an end at once

<sup>1</sup> This story was first told by Dalrymple in 1771. There is no trace whatever of it to be discovered in the contemporary proceedings, where, no doubt it, would have been found, had there been even the slightest foundation for it.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv. pp. 197, 200, 203, 215.

to any defence of William's "extirpation" order, grounded on the supposition of its being directed against civil offenders. We may therefore confine our attention to the inquiry into how far it was justified, and who was responsible for it as a military act.

The Parliament of Scotland found the slaughter to be murder, and demanded that Glenlyon, Drummond, the Lyndsays, and Sergeant Barber should be sent home to be prosecuted for the crime of murder under trust. Lord Macaulay says that the Parliament was here severe in the wrong place ;<sup>1</sup> that the crimes of these men, horrible as they were, were nevertheless not the fitting subject of punishment, inasmuch as each was compelled to act as he had done by the subordination necessary in an army. Lord Macaulay runs up the ladder of responsibility from the sergeant to the ensign, and so on up to Glenlyon, and from him to his colonel, Hamilton ; but he appears to have overlooked the conclusion to which this argument necessarily leads. If Glenlyon was justified by the order of Hamilton, Hamilton was in like

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. p. 576.

manner justified by the order of Livingstone. Thus we reach the commander-in-chief. Does the responsibility rest there? If it did, loud would have been the cry of vengeance for innocent blood; yet the Scottish Parliament acquitted Livingstone, and Lord Macaulay passes him over unnoticed. That the slaughter in Glencoe was a barbarous murder, murder under trust, the foulest and highest degree of crime, all are agreed. We have traced the responsibility up to the commander-in-chief; who was *his* superior? Not the Master of Stair. The Secretary of State for Scotland has no authority in military matters over the commander-in-chief, except so far as he is the mouthpiece of the King. Livingstone derived his orders direct from William. If he exceeded those orders, the blood-guiltiness rests on his head. It is of no avail for him to say, "I obeyed the Master of Stair," unless the Master of Stair spoke and wrote as the agent of the King; and if he did, his orders were William's orders. The Parliament of Scotland voted that the order signed by William did not authorise the slaughter of Glencoe. If *Johnson's Dictionary* had been in existence,



and if they had consulted it to discover the meaning of the King's words, they would have found that his design was to "root out, to eradicate, to exscind, to destroy," and the following example given : "We in vain endeavour to drive the wolf from our own to another's door ; *the breed ought to be EXTIRPATED out of the island.*"<sup>1</sup> It would be difficult to point out any passage in the Master of Stair's letters which exceeds this. Inhuman as they are, they add nothing to the plain and simple words of the order. The execution certainly fell far short. Instead of "extirpation," not more than about one tenth part of the clan was destroyed. Here, then, following out Lord Macaulay's own principle, we are led inevitably to the conclusion that the responsibility rests with William. The only escape is the one suggested by Burnett, namely, that William affixed his signature to a paper, presented to him by Stair and Breadalbane, in ignorance of its contents. We have already shown how entirely this hypothesis is unsupported by evidence, how strong the presumptions are against it. But there re-

<sup>1</sup> LOCKE.

mains one piece of evidence, which to our minds is conclusive. Had William been thus entrapped, how terrible would have been his wrath when he discovered the crime to which he had been unwittingly made a party ! How signal his vengeance on the traitors Stair and Breadalbane ! Instead of this, we find that, when he was obliged to dismiss Stair from office in compliance with public opinion and the intrigues of his colleagues, instead of handing him over to justice, consigning him to the trial, the conviction, and the death of shame, which he most unquestionably would have deserved, he grants him full pardon, immunity, and protection for all his acts, and especially for his share in the slaughter of the men of Glencoe.

We are not aware that the following document has been cited in any history of the massacre : to us it appears conclusive of the original participation of William in that great crime :—

“ SCROLL OF DISCHARGE TO JOHN VISCOUNT STAIR.

“ His majesty, considering that John Vis-  
“ count of Stair hath been employed in his

“ majesty’s service for many years, and in several  
“ capacities, first as his majesty’s Advocate, and  
“ thereafter as Secretary of State, in which  
“ eminent employments persons are in danger,  
“ either by exceeding or coming short of their  
“ duty, to fall under the severities of law, and  
“ become obnoxious to prosecutions or trouble  
“ therefor ; and his majesty being well satisfied  
“ that the said Viscount of Stair hath rendered  
“ him many faithful services, and being well  
“ assured of his affection and good intentions,  
“ and being graciously pleased to pardon, cover,  
“ and secure him now after the demission of his  
“ office, and that he is divested of public employ-  
“ ment, from all questions, prosecutions, and  
“ trouble whatsoever ; and particularly his ma-  
“ jesty, considering that *the manner of execu-*  
“ *tion* of the men of Glenco was contrary to the  
“ laws of humanity and hospitality, being done  
“ by those soldiers who for some days before  
“ had been quartered amongst them and enter-  
“ tained by them, which was a fault in the  
“ actors, or those who gave the immediate orders  
“ on the place. But that the said Viscount of  
“ Stair, then Secretary of State, being at Lon-

“ don, many hundred miles distant, he could  
“ have no knowledge of nor accession to the  
“ method of that execution ; and his majesty  
“ being willing to pardon, forgive, and remit any  
“ excess of zeal or going beyond his instructions  
“ by the said John Viscount of Stair, and that  
“ *he had no hand in the barbarous manner of*  
“ *execution* ; therefore his majesty ordains a  
“ letter of remission to be made, and passed his  
“ great seal of his majesty’s antient kingdom,  
“ &c., and particularly any excess, crime, or fault  
“ done or committed by the said John Viscount  
“ of Stair in that matter of Glenco, and doth  
“ exoner, discharge, pardon, indemnify, and re-  
“ mit the said John Viscount of Stair, &c.”<sup>1</sup>—

It is to be observed that the very gentle censure contained in this document is confined entirely to “*the manner of execution.*” The King shows no disapproval whatever either of the order—his signature to which, Burnett says, was obtained by the fraud of Stair—or of those letters which Lord Macaulay asserts to have been the “sole warrant and cause of this barbar-

<sup>1</sup> *Papers Illustrative of the Highlands of Scotland*, Maitland Club.

“ous murder.” If anything were wanting to prove without a possibility of doubt the King’s participation in the crime, it would be supplied by the fact that this “Scroll of Discharge” is immediately followed by a grant from William of the teind duties and others of the regality of Glenluce, as a “mark of his favour to John Viscount Stair.”

None of the actors in the transaction, so far as we are aware, incurred any marks of the displeasure of the King. They appear to have led prosperous lives : Colonel Hill becomes Sir John ; Glenlyon, when he reappears on the page of history, is a colonel ; Livingstone becomes Lord Teviot.<sup>1</sup> The Master of Stair, though withdrawn for a time from active employment, in obedience to the voice of the Parliament and public opinion, was, as we have seen, rewarded by William, and not many years afterwards reappears an earl instead of a viscount.

We do not think that it is a task of any great difficulty to measure out the degree of responsibility which fairly attaches to each of the actors in this horrible tragedy.

<sup>1</sup> *Life of William III.*, p. 357.

First comes the King. He had not the excuse, poor as it may be, that he was urged on by personal wrong and animosity, like Breadalbane ; or by chagrin and disappointment at the failure of a favourite scheme, like the Master of Stair. We cannot doubt that William's signature was affixed to the order with full knowledge of the facts, and that his intention was to strike terror into the Highlanders by the " extirpation " of a clan too weak to offer any effectual resistance, but important enough to serve as a formidable example.

Next come Breadalbane and the Master of Stair, between whom the scales balance so nicely that it is hard to say to which the larger share of execration is due.

Livingstone, Hamilton, Duncanson, Drummond, Glenlyon and his subalterns, must share amongst themselves the responsibility for the peculiar circumstances of treachery and breach of hospitality attendant upon the execution. For this we think neither William, Breadalbane, nor the Master of Stair can justly be held answerable.

The blundering partisans of the day attempted



to make light of the atrocity of the slaughter. Lord Macaulay is too skilful and too humane to be betrayed even by his partisanship into supporting so false an issue. He denounces the crime with unsparing severity. But by suppression, by sophism, by all the arts which are questionable in an advocate, and intolerable in a judge, he seeks to obtain a verdict of acquittal for William—to limit his culpability to his remissness in failing to bring the Master of Stair to justice, and, by dwelling in strong terms on the minor offence, to keep out of view his participation in the far deeper guilt of the original crime. The readers of the *Decameron* know by what means San Ciappelletto obtained canonisation; the readers of Lord Macaulay's History see how the meed of justice and humanity may be awarded to the murderer of Glencoe. They may compare the portrait of Marlborough with the portrait of William, and judge what fidelity is likely to be found in the rest of Lord Macaulay's picture-gallery.

### III.

#### LORD MACAULAY AND THE HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND.<sup>1</sup>

THE genealogy of Peers is public property. Without going the length of saying, as has been said, that more English men and women read the *Peerage* than the Bible, it is still true that it is a volume of whose contents most persons have some knowledge. Lord Macaulay's pedigree is one of which no man need be ashamed, and of which many would be proud. His paternal grandfather was the Highland minister of a Highland parish, with a Highland wife and Highland children, one of whom, Zachariah by name, following the example of his forefathers, descended into the Lowlands to gather gear, not by lifting cows, but by peaceful trade. The youthful Zachariah found favour in the eyes of the daughter of a Bristol Quaker who supplied

<sup>1</sup> *Blackwood's Magazine.* Aug. 1859.

the serious and respectable society to which he belonged with such literature as was acceptable to Friends, the call for which was not, however, so pressing as to prevent the grandsire of the future essayist of the *Edinburgh Review* from employing his talents in periodical composition, and cultivating literary pursuits as the editor of a provincial paper.

Meantime the loves of the young Highlander and the fair Quakeress prospered, and from their union sprang Thomas Babington Macaulay, Baron Macaulay of Rothley, in the county of Leicester, the libeller of William Penn, and the lampooner of the Highlands. With Highland and Quaker blood flowing in equal currents through his veins, it is difficult to say whether a Highlander or a Quaker is the more favourite object of his satire and butt for the shafts of his ridicule ; whether George Fox or Coll of the Cows comes in for the larger share of his contempt ; whether the enthusiast who felt himself divinely moved to take off what we are in the habit of considering as the most essential of all garments, and to walk in the simplicity of nature through the town of Skipton, or the native of

the Grampians, who never possessed such an article of dress at all, is the more ridiculous in his eyes; whether, in short, he despises most those who gave birth to his father or his mother. It is with the paternal ancestors of the historian that we have at present to do. No quarrel is so bitter as a family quarrel: when a man takes to abusing his father or his mother, he does it with infinitely greater gusto than a mere stranger. Lord Macaulay's description of the Highlands is accordingly so vituperative, so spiteful, so grotesque—it displays such command of the language of hatred, and such astounding power of abuse, that, coming as it does from a writer who challenges a place by the side of Hume and Gibbon, it takes the breath away, and one feels almost as one would on receiving a torrent of blasphemy from a Bishop, or ribaldry from a Judge, or a volley of oaths from a young lady whose crinoline one had just piloted, with the utmost respect, tenderness, and difficulty, to her place at the dinner table. Lord Macaulay tells us that in the days of our great-grandfathers<sup>1</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. p. 300.

that is to say, when his own grandfather was just beginning to “wag his pow” in a Highland pulpit—if an Englishman “condescended to “think of a Highlander at all,” he thought of him only as a “filthy abject savage, a slave, a “Papist, a cut-throat, and a thief;”<sup>1</sup> that the dress of even the Highland “gentleman” was “hideous, ridiculous, nay, grossly indecent;” that it was “begrimed with the accumulated “filth of years;” that he dwelt in a “hovel “which smelt worse than an English hog-“stye;”<sup>2</sup> that he considered a “stab in the “back, or a shot from behind a rock, the approved mode of taking satisfaction for an “insult;” that a traveller who ventured into the “hideous wilderness” which he inhabited, would find “dens of robbers” instead of inns; that he would be in imminent danger of being murdered or starved; of “falling two thousand “feet perpendicular” from a precipice; of being compelled to “run for his life” from the “boiling waves of a torrent” which suddenly “whirled away his baggage;”<sup>3</sup> that he would find in the glens “corpses which marauders had

<sup>1</sup> P. 309.<sup>2</sup> Pp. 304, 311.<sup>3</sup> Vol. iii. p. 301.

“just stripped and mangled ;” that “his own  
“eyes” would probably afford “the next meal  
“to the eagles” which screamed over his head;  
that if he escaped these dangers, he would have  
to content himself with quarters in which “the  
“food, the clothing, nay, the very hair and skin  
“of his hosts would have put his philosophy to  
“the proof. His lodging would sometimes have  
“been in a hut, of which every nook would  
“have swarmed with vermin. He would have  
“inhaled an atmosphere thick with peat-smoke,  
“and foul with a hundred noisome exhalations.  
“At supper, grain fit only for horses would have  
“been set before him, accompanied by a cake of  
“blood drawn from living cows. Some of the  
“company with whom he would have feasted  
“would have been covered with cutaneous erup-  
“tions, and others would have been smeared with  
“tar like sheep. His couch would have been  
“the bare earth, dry or wet, as the weather  
“might be, and from that couch he would have  
“risen half poisoned with stench, half blind with  
“the reek of turf, and half mad with the itch.”<sup>1</sup>

“This,” says Lord Macaulay, “is not an at-

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 305, 306.



“tractive picture ;” a sentiment we sincerely echo. If it is a true one, Lord Macaulay’s grandfather must have had a stubborn generation to deal with, and we fear his preaching must have been of little avail. We are not Highlanders. We believe that justice is better administered by Queen Victoria than ever it was by the Lord of the Isles, or even by Fin Mac-Coul. We would rather ride after a fox than stalk the “muckle hart of Benmore” himself. The Monarch of the Glen may toss his royal head, and range over his mountain kingdom safe from our treason. We should feel it almost a crime to level a rifle at his deep shoulder, or to pierce his lordly throat with a skean-dhu. We have no wish to see his soft lustrous eye grow dim, and his elastic limbs stiffen under our hands. We never wore a kilt, and never intend to array our limbs in so comfortless a garment. Notwithstanding all our love and veneration for the Wizard of the North, we cannot but think that old Allan’s harp must have been apt to be out of tune in the climate of Loch Katrine, and that Helen herself must have found her Isle too damp to be comfortable during the greater part

of the year. We would rather have seen the Magician himself in the library at Abbotsford than amongst the Children of the Mist. Our tastes, our habits, our affections, and our prejudices, are with the Lowlands. But we cannot allow this gross caricature, this shameless libel, this malignant slander, this parricidal onslaught by a son of the Highlands on the people and the land of his fathers—a race and a country which has furnished heroes whose deeds in every quarter of the globe have been, and at the very time we write are, such that their names awaken a thrill of admiration in every heart that is capable of generous feeling—to pass unnoticed. Lowlanders as we are, it moves our indignation. It is not history: to attempt to follow and answer it step by step would be to commit a folly only exceeded by the absurdity of the original libel. We prefer to introduce our readers to the authorities on which Lord Macaulay professes to have founded this gross caricature. They are few in number, consisting of Oliver Goldsmith, Richard Franck, who wrote a book called *Northern Memoirs*, Colonel Cleland, and Captain Burt. We have bestowed

some pains upon an examination of them, and we proceed to lay the result before our readers, and to show how little foundation they afford for Lord Macaulay's malignant lampoon. We will take them in order. Lord Macaulay says : " Goldsmith was one of the very few Saxons " who, more than a century ago, *ventured* to " explore the Highlands. *He was disgusted* " *by the hideous wilderness*, and declared that " he greatly preferred the charming country " round Leyden, the vast expanse of verdant " meadows, and the villas with their statues " and grottoes, trim flower-beds and rectilinear " avenues."<sup>1</sup>

Those who are unacquainted with Lord Macaulay's mode of dealing with authorities may perhaps be surprised to learn that the only passage in Goldsmith's correspondence directly relating to his journey to the Highlands is the following : " I have been a month in the Highlands. " I set out the first day on foot, but an ill- " natured corn I have got on my toe has for " the future prevented that cheap method of " travelling ; so the second day I hired a horse,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. p. 302.

“ of about the size of a ram, and he walked  
“ away (trot he could not) as pensive as his  
“ master. In three days we reached the High-  
“ lands. This letter would be too long if it con-  
“ tained the description I intend giving of that  
“ country, so I shall make it the subject of my  
“ next.”<sup>1</sup>

Whether Goldsmith ever carried his intention into effect, or whether the promised description has been lost, is not known. “ No trace  
“ of this communication,” says Mr Prior, “ which  
“ we may believe, from his humour and skill  
“ in narration, to have been of an amusing  
“ character, has been found.”<sup>2</sup>

Lord Macaulay says that Goldsmith was “ dis-  
“ gusted with the hideous wilderness.” The  
only thing he expresses any disgust at is the  
corn on his toe, and he says nothing about  
any hideous wilderness whatever.

Goldsmith, however, did write some letters  
during his residence at Edinburgh as a medical  
student, and also afterwards at Leyden, con-  
taining a few passing observations upon Scot-  
land generally, which Lord Macaulay quotes

<sup>1</sup> PRIOR'S *Goldsmith*, v. 148.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, v. 145.

as if they referred to the Highlands in particular. These letters Lord Macaulay either wholly misunderstands or has grossly misrepresented. Probably no two men of genius ever were more dissimilar than Oliver Goldsmith and Lord Macaulay. The delicate humour and refined satire of the former appear to be wholly incomprehensible to the latter. Goldsmith's weapon is the smallest of small swords, which he wields with wonderful skill. Lord Macaulay lays about him with an axe ; he mauls and disfigures his foe ; he splashes about in blood and brains ; he is not content with slaying his enemy, he stamps upon his carcass, tears his limbs in pieces, seethes them in pitch, and gibbets them like his own Tom Boilman. It is hardly possible to avoid feeling some sympathy for the criminal, however execrable, to whom Lord Macaulay plays the part of executioner. Goldsmith is the gentlest and most playful of writers. To conceive Lord Macaulay either gentle or playful would be to conjure up an image which would be grotesque if it were not impossible. It is not, therefore, surprising that Lord Macaulay

should wholly misinterpret the two letters from which he quotes a few lines, which, taken apart from the context and applied to a subject to which they do not refer, appear at first sight in some degree to justify his remarks. The first of these letters is addressed by Goldsmith to his friend Bryanton, at Ballymahon, and has been omitted (Mr Prior tells us) from most of the Scottish editions of his works, "for no other reason, as it appears, than containing a few harmless jests upon Scotland."<sup>1</sup> In this playful letter he laughs alike at the Irish squires and the Scotch belles, who he says, nevertheless, "are ten thousand times fairer and handsomer than the Irish," an opinion which he expressly desires may be communicated to the sisters of his Irish friend, for whose bright eyes he "does not care a potato." He describes an Edinburgh ball, retails the observations of three "envious prudes" upon the beautiful Duchess of Hamilton, and desires especially to know if "John Binely has left off drinking drams, or Tom Allan got a new wig?" It is this playful badinage of the young medical student that

<sup>1</sup> PRIOR'S *Goldsmith*, v. 139.



Lord Macaulay gravely quotes as the judgment of the "author of the *Traveller* and the *Deserted Village*."<sup>1</sup>

The other letter is written about six months afterwards from Leyden, and addressed to his uncle Contarine. It is in the same vein of playful humour. The principal object of his satire is, however, the Dutchman; and Lord Macaulay might just as well have quoted the following description as a faithful portrait of Bentinck or of William himself, as the few lines he devotes to Scotland as a picture of that country. "The downright Hollander," says Goldsmith, "is one of the oddest figures in nature. Upon a head of lank hair he wears a half-cocked narrow hat, laced with black ribbon; no coat, but seven waistcoats and nine pair of breeches, so that his hips reach almost up to his armpits. This well-clothed vegetable is now fit to see company or to make love. But what a pleasing creature is the object of his appetite! Why, she wears a large fur cap with a deal of Flanders lace, and for every pair of breeches he carries she puts on two petticoats!"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MACAULAY, vol. iii. 302.

<sup>2</sup> PRIOR'S *Goldsmith*, v. 161.

Eighteen petticoats !—a warm and substantial crinoline. We trust that the gauzy garments of the present day are applied to no such purpose as that which Goldsmith describes in the next paragraph : “ You must know, sir, every woman “ carries in her hand a stove with coals in it, “ which, when she sits, she snugs under her “ petticoats ; and at this chimney dozing Stre- “ phon lights his pipe.” In this playful strain he goes on to compare the Dutch women with the Scotch women, and the country he had just left with the country in which he had just arrived. Scotland, he observes very truly, is hilly and rocky, while Holland “ is all a continued “ plain.” He compares the Scotchman to a “ tulip planted in dung,” and the Dutchman to an “ ox in a magnificent temple.” We confess we do not recognise the truth of either simile ; the wit is too evanescent for us. But about the Highlands there is not one word.

We need not, therefore, trouble ourselves further as to any weight which Lord Macaulay’s strictures derive from the supposed authority of Oliver Goldsmith ; whatever he knew or thought, he has told us nothing.

The next in the list of Lord Macaulay's authorities is less known. Richard Franck was born at Cambridge about the beginning of the seventeenth century. He resided at Nottingham, was strongly imbued with the peculiar religious tenets of the Independents, served as a trooper in the army of Cromwell, and about the year 1656 or 1657 visited Scotland. His description, therefore, applies to a period nearly a century before the days of our great-grandfathers. Lord Macaulay, referring to this book, says that "five  
" or six years *after the Revolution*, an inde-  
" fatigable angler published an account of Scot-  
" land ;"<sup>1</sup> that, though professing to have explored the whole kingdom, he had merely  
" caught a few glimpses of Highland scenery ;"<sup>2</sup>  
that he asserts that " few Englishmen had ever  
" seen Inveraray. All beyond Inveraray was  
" chaos ;"<sup>3</sup> and Lord Macaulay adds, in a note to a subsequent passage : " Much to the same  
" effect are the very few words which Franck  
" Philanthropus (1694) spares to the High-  
" landers : ' They live like lairds and die like  
" ' loons—hating to work, and no credit to bor-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. p. 303.<sup>2</sup> Ibid., *note*.<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

“ ‘ row : they make depredations, and rob their  
“ ‘ neighbours.’ ”<sup>1</sup>

This is all, we believe, for which Lord Macaulay cites the *Northern Memoirs*. We shall presently see that he is inaccurate as to the name, wrong as to the date, and in error both as to what the author saw of the Highlands and what he says of them.

*First*, Lord Macaulay cites the book as if it were written under the pseudonyme of “Philanthropus”—a designation which Richard Franck adds to his name, according to the fantastical fashion of his day, as he might have called himself “Piscator,” or “Venator,” or “Viator,” after the manner of Isaac Walton. *Secondly*, The book was written in 1658, thirty years *before* the Revolution, instead of six years *after*.<sup>2</sup> *Thirdly*, Instead of merely catching a few glimpses of Highland scenery, Franck visited every Highland county, and penetrated to the north of Sutherland and Caithness. Instead of saying that “all beyond Inveraray was chaos,” or giving the character of the Highlands which

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. p. 310.

Scott to the edition of Franck's

<sup>2</sup> See Preface by Sir Walter book, 1821.

Lord Macaulay attributes to him, his words are as follows : “ Here we cannot stay to inhabit, nor any longer enjoy these solitary recreations ; we must steer our course by the north pole, and relinquish those flourishing fields of Kintire and Inveraray, the pleasant bounds of Marquess Argyle, which very few Englishmen have made discovery of, to inform us of the glories of the Western Highlands, enriched with grain and the plenty of herbage. But how the Highlanders will vindicate Bowhidder and Lochaber, with Reven in Badenoch, that I know not ; for *there* they live like lairds and die like loons—hating to work and no credit to borrow : they make depredations, and so rob their neighbours.”<sup>1</sup> So that we see that the words Lord Macaulay quotes as applicable to the Highlands in general are used by Franck in reference to the districts of Balquhidder—for such we presume to be the place called by him Bowhidder—Lochaber, and a part of Badenoch, the lawlessness of which he contrasts with the rest of the Highlands ; and instead of all beyond Inveraray being chaos, it is

<sup>1</sup> P. 144.

in these “pleasant bounds” that “the glories of  
“the Western Highlands, enriched with grain  
“and plenty of herbage,” are to be found.

The opinion which Franck formed of Scotland he has not been niggardly in expressing. He sums it up thus : “For you are to consider, sir,  
“that the whole tract of Scotland is but one  
“single series of admirable delights, notwithstanding the prejudicate reports of some men  
“that represent it otherwise. For if eyesight  
“be argument convincing enough to confirm a  
“truth, it enervates my pen to describe Scotland’s curiosities, which properly ought to fall  
“under a more elegant style to range them in  
“order for a better discovery. For Scotland is  
“not Europe’s *umbra*, as fictitiously imagined  
“by some extravagant wits. No ; it’s rather a  
“legible fair draught of the beautiful creation  
“dressed up with polished rocks, pleasant savannahs, flourishing dales, deep and torpid lakes,  
“with shady firwoods immersed with rivers and  
“gliding rivulets ; where every fountain o’erflows a valley and every ford superabounds  
“with fish ; where also the swelling mountains  
“are covered with sheep and the marish grounds



“strewed with cattle, whilst every field is filled  
“with corn and every swamp swarms with fowl.  
“This, in my opinion, proclaims a plenty, and  
“presents Scotland a kingdom of prodigies and  
“products too, to allure foreigners and entertain  
“travellers.”<sup>1</sup>

It is greatly to be regretted that Franck, who had the opportunity of affording so much information, should have been led by his intolerable pedantry into a style of writing fit only for Don Adriano de Armado. If he had been content to “deliver himself like a man of this world,” his book would have formed a most valuable record of the condition of the country at a time when (though we by no means accept Lord Macaulay’s assertion that less was known of the Grampians than of the Andes) we are certainly in want of accurate and impartial information. The book is scarce, and the reader may take the following description of Dumbarton as a fair sample of the intolerable style in which the whole of it is written. Arnoldus, it must be remembered, was Franck himself.

“THEOPH.—What lofty domineering towers

<sup>1</sup> FRANCK’S *Northern Memoirs*, Preface, p. x.

“ are those that storm the air and stand on tip-  
“ toe (to my thinking) upon two stately elevated  
“ pondrus rocks, that shade the valley with their  
“ prodigious growth, even to amazement? Be-  
“ cause they display such adequate and exact  
“ proportion, with such equality in their moun-  
“ tainous pyramides, as if nature had stretched  
“ them into parallel lines with most accurate  
“ poize, to amaze the most curious and critical  
“ observer; though with exquisite perspectives  
“ he double an observation, yet shall he never  
“ trace a disproportion in those uniform pier-  
“ monts.

“ ARN.—These are those natural and not  
“ artificial pyramides that have stood, for ought  
“ I know, since the beginnings of time; nor are  
“ they sheltered under any disguise, for Nature  
“ herself dressed up this elaborate precipice,  
“ without art or engine, or any other manual,  
“ till arriving at this period of beauty and per-  
“ fection. And because, having laws and limits  
“ of her own, destinated by the prerogative-royal  
“ of Heaven, she heaped up these massy inac-  
“ cessible pyramides, to invalidate art and all its  
“ admirers, since so equally to shape a mountain,

“ and to form it into so great and such exact  
“ proportions.

“ THEOPH.—Then it's no fancy, I perceive,  
“ when in the midst of those lofty and elevated  
“ towers a palace presents itself unto us, im-  
“ mured with rocks and a craggy front, that  
“ with a haughty brow contemns the invaders ;  
“ and where below, at those knotty descents,  
“ Neptune careers on brinish billows, armed  
“ with tritons in corselets of green, that threat-  
“ ens to invade this impregnable rock, and shake  
“ the foundations, which if he do, he procures  
“ an earthquake.

“ ARN.—This is the rock ; and that which  
“ you see elevated in air, and inoculated to it, is  
“ an artificial fabrik, envelop't, as you now ob-  
“ observe, in the very breast of this prodigious  
“ mountain ; which briefly, yet well enough,  
“ your observation directs to, both as to the  
“ form, situation, and strength. Moreover, it's  
“ a garrison, and kept by the Albions, where  
“ formerly our friend Fœlecius dwelt, who of  
“ late upon preferment is transplanted into  
“ Ireland : however, Aquilla will bid us wel-  
“ come ; and if I mistake not, he advances to

“ meet us : look wishly forward, and you’ll  
“ see him trace those delightful fields from the  
“ ports of Dumbarton.

“ AQUIL.—What vain delusions thus possess  
“ me ! Nay, what idle dotages and fictitious  
“ dreams thus delude me, if these be ghosts  
“ which I fancy men.—O Heavens ! it’s our  
“ friend Arnoldus, and (if I mistake not) Theo-  
“ philus with him. Welcome to Dumbarton !”<sup>1</sup>

After some further conversation in the same style, Arnoldus and Theophilus display their fishing-rods, and all three forthwith descend from their stilts, and talk like men of this world. “ I’m for the fly,” says Arnoldus. “ Then I’m  
“ for ground-bait,” replies Aquilla. “ And I’m  
“ for any bait or any colour, so that I be but  
“ doing,” exclaims Theophilus ; and then follows a discussion upon brandlings, gildtails, cankers, caterpillars, grubs, and locusts, with a barbarous suggestion to “ strip off the legs of a grasshop-  
“ per,” worthy of that “ quaint old cruel cox-  
“ comb ” Isaac Walton, whom, in spite of all his cold-blooded abominations, we cannot help loving in our hearts. The three friends then part,

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 109, 110.

Arnoldus for the head, or more properly the foot, of Loch Lomond, whilst Aquilla and Theophilus remain to try their luck and skill in the waters of Leven, and meet again to compare their sport and display their spoil. Franck was a dull man on everything but fishing. When the rod and the fly are concerned he writes in earnest, his intolerable pedantry and affectation disappear, and his book, like all books containing a mixture of natural history, topography, sporting, and personal adventure, is delightful. His pedantry and dulness spoil every other subject ; even the *Elitropia* of Boccaccio, and the story of Bailie Pringle's cow, and the *Doch-andoroch*, became stupid and tiresome in his hands ; and he gives an account of the venerable Laird of Urquhart, who was the happy father of forty legitimate children, and who at the latter part of his life was in the habit of going to bed in his coffin, which was then hauled by pulleys close up to the ridge-tree of the house, in order that the old gentleman might be so much the nearer heaven should he receive a sudden summons, without any appreciation of the grotesque humour of the old man.

Here and there a peevish word escapes him at the want of the comforts he had been accustomed to on the banks of the Trent, and did not find in the wilds of Sutherland and Cromarty ; but so far from encountering any of the perils which Lord Macaulay paints so vividly, he says, writing in a remote part of Sutherlandshire, " Let not our discourse discover us ungrateful " to the inhabitants, for it were madness more " than good manners not to acknowledge civi- " ties from a people that so civilly treated us."<sup>1</sup> This was in 1657.

Lord Macaulay's next witness is William Cleland. He vouches him to prove the important fact of the tar. " For the tar," says Lord Macaulay, " I am indebted to Cleland's poetry."<sup>2</sup> Cleland deserves to be remembered for better things than a poem which Lord Macaulay himself elsewhere describes as a " Hudibrastic satire " of very little intrinsic value."<sup>3</sup> He was an accomplished man and a gallant soldier, but about as bad a witness as to anything concerning the Highlanders as can be conceived. During the whole of his short life he was engaged in a

<sup>1</sup> P. 211.<sup>2</sup> Vol. iii. p. 306.<sup>3</sup> Vol. iii. p. 276.



bitter hand-to-hand contest with them. It was a struggle for life or death, and only terminated when Cleland, at the age of twenty-seven, fell by a Highland bullet at the head of the Cameronians, during his gallant and successful defence of Dunkeld from the attack of the Highlanders in 1689. No one, therefore, would think of regarding Cleland as an impartial witness. But his poem, which Lord Macaulay quotes, will be found on examination to relate, not to the Highlands and their inhabitants in general, to whom Lord Macaulay applies it, but simply to that "Highland Host" which was sent by Lauderdale to ravage the west in 1678, when Cleland was a boy of seventeen. It does not profess even to give any description of the Highlanders in general. The book is extremely scarce : the only copy we have seen—a small 12mo in the Grenville Collection—is marked as having cost three guineas. We therefore give the passage which Lord Macaulay refers to entire, in order that the reader may judge how far this description of the lawless rabble, let loose upon free quarter on the western counties, justifies Lord Macaulay's account of the com-

pany with whom a peaceful traveller would have “feasted” when journeying across Scotland. Even Cleland, it will be seen, draws by no means a contemptible picture of the officers of this host, his description of whose dress and accoutrements well befits the leaders of an irregular force.

“But to discribe them right surpasses  
 The art of nine Parnassus lasses,  
 Of Lucan, Virgil, or of Horas,  
 Of Ovid, Homer, or of Floras;  
 Yea, sure such sights might have inclined  
 A man to nauceate at mankind:  
 Some might have judged they were the creatures  
 Called Selfies, whos costumes and features  
 Paracelsus does descry  
 In his Occult Philosophy;  
 Or Faunes, or Brownies, if ye will,  
 Or Satyres, come from Atlas hill,  
 Or that the three-tongued tyke was sleeping  
 Who hath the Stygian door a-keeping.  
 Their head, their neck, their legges, and thighs,  
 Are influenced by the skies,  
 Without a clout to interrupt them.  
 They need not strip them when they whip them,  
 Nor loose their doublet when they’re hanged;  
 If they be missed, it’s sure they’re wrong’d.  
 This keeps their bodies from corruptions,  
 From fistuls, humours, and eruptions.

. . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 Their durks hang down between their legs,  
 Where they make many slopes and gegges,  
 By rubbing on their naked hide,  
 And wambling from side to side.

But those who were their chief commanders,  
And such who bore the pirnie standarts,  
Who led the van and drove the rear,  
Were right well mounted of their gear ;  
With Brogues, Treues, and pirnie plaides,  
With gude blew Bonnets on their heads,  
Which on the one side had a fiipe  
Adorned with a Tobacco-pipe.  
With Durk and snapwork, and Snuff-mille,  
A bag which they with onions fill,  
And, as their strick observers say,  
A tupe-horn filled with usquebay,  
A slashed out coat beneath her plaides,  
A targe of timber, nailes, and hides,  
With a long two-handed sword,  
As good's the country can afford.  
Had they not need of bulk and bones  
Who fight with all these arms at once ?  
It's marvellous how in such weather,  
O'er hill and hop they came together,  
How in such storms they came so far ;  
The reason is, they're smeared with tar,  
Which doth defend them heel and neck,  
Just as it does their sheep protect ;  
But least ye doubt that this be trew,  
They're just the colour of tarr'd wool.  
Nought like religion they retain,  
Of moral honestie they're clean ;  
In nothing they're accounted sharp,  
Except in bagpipe and in harpe.  
For a misobliging word  
She'll durk her neighbour over the boord ;  
And then she'll flee like fire from flint,  
She'll scarcely ward the second dint.  
If any ask her of her thrift,  
Foresooth her nain sell lives by theft." <sup>1</sup>

Cleland's picture of the " Highland Host "

<sup>1</sup> CLELAND'S *Highland Host*, p. 11-13.

may pass well enough with Gilray's caricatures of Napoleon's army. As an illustration of what people said and thought, it is valuable ; as a record of facts it is worthless. A far greater satirist, some years later, drew a French officer preparing his own dinner by spitting half-a-dozen frogs on his rapier, and a Clare-market butcher tossing a French postilion, with a large portmanteau on his back, bodily over his shoulder with one hand. Even Lord Macaulay could hardly cite Hogarth to prove the diet of the French army, or the proportion of muscular strength of the two nations respectively.

Lord Macaulay's total want of perception of humour, of the power of distinguishing a grotesque play of fancy from the solemn assertion of a fact, leads him into numerous errors.

We now come to Lord Macaulay's principal authority : "Almost all these circumstances," he says (with a special exception of the tar in honour of Colonel Cleland), "are taken from "Burt's Letters."<sup>1</sup> Here, then, we arrive at the fountain-head. Burt's Letters were first published in 1754. They were written twenty or

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. p. 306.

thirty years earlier—that is to say, about the latter end of the reign of George I. Burt was a man of ability, and possessed considerable power of observation; but he was a coxcomb and a Cockney. He was quartered at Inverness with some brother officers, one of whom attempted to “ride through a rainbow,”<sup>1</sup> and another became so terrified on a hill-side (where there was, be it observed, a horse-road) that in panic terror he clung to the heather on the mountain-side, and remained there till he was rescued by two of his own soldiers.<sup>2</sup> Others of the party attempted to ascend to the top of Ben Nevis, “but could not attain it.”<sup>3</sup> They related on their return that this “wild expedition,” unsuccessful as it was, “took them up a whole summer’s day from five in the morning.” They returned, thankful that they had escaped the mists, in which, had they been caught, they “must have perished with cold, wet, and hunger.”<sup>4</sup> Burt himself travelled on horseback, with a sumpter-horse attending him. With this equipage he attempted to ride over a bog, and

<sup>1</sup> BURT, vol. ii. p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 45.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. ii. p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. ii. p. 12.

got bogged as he deserved ; next he tried bog-trotting on foot, in heavy jackboots with high heels,<sup>1</sup> with little better success. Old hock, claret, and French brandy were necessary to his comfort—he nauseated at the taste of whisky and the smell of peat. He has left a minute account of his personal adventures during an expedition into the Highlands in October 172—. His route we have attempted in vain to trace. He met with bad weather, and was forced to take refuge in a “hut.” Let us hear the description which this fine gentleman has left of his quarters under the most disadvantageous circumstances : “ My fare,” he says, “ was a “ couple of roasted hens (as they call them), “ very poor, new killed, the skins much broken “ with plucking, black with smoke, and greased “ with bad butter.”<sup>2</sup> As I had no great appetite “ to that dish, I spoke for some hard eggs, made “ my supper of the yolks, and washed them “ down with a *bottle of good small claret*. My “ bed had clean sheets and blankets. . . . “ For want of anything more proper for break- “ fast, I took up with a little brandy, water,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 41.



“sugar, and yolks of eggs beat up together, which I think they called ‘old man’s milk.’” We have many a time ourselves been thankful for far worse fare than this. A couple of fowls brandered, fresh eggs, butter not to be commended, good light claret, brandy-and-water hot, with clean sheets and a clear turf fire—not bad chance-quarters, when a snow-storm was howling down the glens, whirling madly round the mountains, and beating on the roof which sheltered the thankless Cockney. Better, at any rate, than he deserved. Burt saw nothing in the

“Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,  
Land of the mountain and the flood,”

but ridges of “rugged irregular lines,” those which “appear next to the ether being rendered extremely harsh to the eye by appearing close to that diaphanous body.” What he thinks “the most horrid, is to look at the hills from east to west, or *vice versâ*.” He laments the fate which has banished him to the Highlands, and sighs for “a poetical mountain, smooth and easy of ascent, clothed with a verdant flowery turf, where shepherds tend their flocks, sit-

“ting under the shade of tall poplars.”<sup>1</sup> Burt was a

“Sir Plume, of amber snuff-box justly vain,  
And the nice manage of a clouded cane.”

Richmond Hill was fairer in his eye than Ben Cruachan. He measures the terrors of a mountain-pass by saying that it was “twice as high as the cross of St Paul’s is from Ludgate Hill.”<sup>2</sup> From the top of his hat to the sole of his shoe he was a Cockney—one of those men for whose eyes the foxglove hangs its banner out in vain, to whom the odours of a London dining-room are more fragrant than the sweetest breeze that ever came love-laden with the kisses of the honeysuckle from the shores of Innisfallen—to whose eyes Pall Mall affords a fairer prospect than the wildest glen in which stag ever crouched among the bracken—who see nothing but gloomy purple in that heather whose bloom even the truth of eye and skill of hand of Creswick or Richardson fails to transfer in all its richness and all its tenderness to canvass or to paper—who are blind to the countless beauties of the brown winter wood, and deaf to that melody

<sup>1</sup> BURT, vol. ii. p. 10-13.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 45.

in the sough of the wind through the leafless trees, which never failed to awaken kindred poetry in the soul of Burns. Yet even Burt, as we have seen, in no way supports Lord Macaulay's description. The risk of murder and robbery, so eloquently dilated upon by Lord Macaulay, is disposed of at once by Burt in the following passage : " Personal robberies are seldom heard  
" of among them. For my own part, I have  
" several times, with a single servant, passed the  
" mountain-way from hence to Edinburg with  
" four or five hundred guineas in my portman-  
" teau, without any apprehension of robbers by  
" the way, or danger in my lodgings at night ;  
" though in my sleep any one, with ease, might  
" have thrust a sword from the outside through  
" the wall of the hut and my body together. *I*  
" *wish we could say as much of our own*  
" *country, civilised as it is said to be, though*  
" *we cannot be safe in going from London to*  
" *Highgate.*"<sup>1</sup>

This is the witness Lord Macaulay produces to prove the imminent peril a traveller in the Highlands was in of being " stripped and man-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 217.

“gled” by marauders, and his eyes given as a meal to the eagles!

Neither Burt nor Franck intimate that they were ever in the slightest personal danger of this kind. The precipices and the torrents, on the dangers of which Lord Macaulay dilates, are precisely the same now that they were a hundred years ago; the risk of falling from the former depends on the quantity of whisky the traveller may have imbibed, and is no greater than it is on the top of Sleive League or the pass of Striden Edge. The perils of the ford depend on the skill and care of those who traverse it. We ourselves were of a party, but two years ago, in the north of Ross, when two ladies, a pony, and a basket-carriage, were, to use Lord Macaulay’s magniloquent expression, “suddenly whirled away by the boiling waves of a torrent.” The pony swam as Highland ponies know how to swim. As for the precious freight, they, like Ophelia,

“Fell in the weeping brook; their cloaths spread wide,  
And, mermaid-like, awhile did bear them up.”

Thus happily rescued from “muddy death,” they shook down their long wet tresses, wrung

out "their garments heavy with their drink," and joined heartily in the laughter which followed close upon the momentary alarm occasioned by the adventure. All depends, in these cases, upon laying hold of the right handle. A man whose head turns giddy at the top of a precipice, who fears to walk through a stream up to his middle, who cannot feed well and sleep sound on such fare and in such quarters as Captain Burt thought it a hardship to be compelled to take up with a hundred and fifty years ago, who detests whisky and peat-smoke, had better keep out of the Highlands, where he would be as much out of place as Lord Macaulay attempting to ride across Leicestershire with Mr Little Gilmour or Mr Green of Rolleston.

The idea of making one's supper upon a cake composed of oats and cow's blood is not agreeable. But it must be remembered that this is mentioned by Burt<sup>1</sup> not as fare that had ever been set before himself or any other traveller, but as an expedient resorted to "by the lower order of Highlanders" in seasons of extraordinary scarcity; and after all, we may fairly ask

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 109.

ourselves whether our disgust is not more moved by the revolting description than by the actual diet itself. Did Lord Macaulay of Rothley, in the county of Leicester, never eat black-pudding or lambs' tails ? both of which, we can assure him, are esteemed delicacies in that part of the world. If he did, what would he think of seeing his repast described in the following manner ?

“ At dinner a pudding composed of grain fit  
 “ only for horses, mixed with the blood and fat  
 “ of a pig, and boiled in a bag formed of the in-  
 “ testines of the same unclean beast, was set  
 “ before him. This was followed by a dish com-  
 “ posed of joints cut with a knife from the bodies  
 “ of living lambs, whose plaintive bleatings, as  
 “ they wriggled their bleeding stumps within  
 “ hearing and sight, did not disturb the appetite  
 “ of the guest. Such was the diet which a Peer,  
 “ a poet, and a historian did not think unpalat-  
 “ able in the middle of the nineteenth century.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This fact is alluded to in a beautiful ballad, some stanzas of which have been handed down to our own day, and which tells us that when—

“ Little Bo-peep had lost her sheep,  
 And didn't know where to find  
 them ;  
 She found them indeed,  
 But it made her heart bleed,  
 For they'd left their tails behind  
 them.”



One might go on *ad infinitum* with similar illustrations. Shrimps are esteemed universally, we believe, to be delicate viands, and are especially in favour with the visitors at Margate and Herne Bay, who call them “swimps.” What would be the effect upon Mr and Mrs Tomkins, and all the Master and Miss Tomkinses, as they return home by the Gravesend boat, if they were told that they had feasted for a week upon obscene animals, fed upon the putrid flesh of dead dogs and drowned sailors, and packed in earthen vessels covered with rancid butter? Lord Macaulay, we presume, does not visit Rosherville, but probably he eats “swimps” somewhere; and we have no doubt that he spreads the trail of a woodcock upon a toast (first carefully extracting the sandbag), and swallows it with a relish which we should be sorry to interfere with by describing how the fine flavour which delights his palate is produced. It is absurd to look too minutely into these matters, but a very little reflection will show that it is equally absurd to rely upon them as being necessarily indications of barbarism.

That there were, and still are, huts in the

Highlands which swarm with vermin, and whose inhabitants are subject to cutaneous diseases, we are by no means disposed to deny. Unhappily the same thing may be said with truth of every county in England—nay, of every parish in London. Within a stone's throw of St James's Palace, garrets may be found the inhabitants of which suffer from all the maladies in Lord Macaulay's loathsome catalogue, and more to boot. That outrages revolting to humanity have been, and as long as the passions and vices of human nature remain what they are, will again be perpetrated in the Highlands, as well as in every other place where man has set his foot, we freely admit. Few years have passed since, in the very heart of London, a wretched woman was brutally murdered in the course of her miserable and degraded profession, and the murderer, for aught we know, still walks the streets in safety. Not many months ago, one mangled corpse was dropped over the parapet of Waterloo Bridge, and another, stripped naked, was thrown into a ditch within five miles of Hyde Park Corner; in neither case has the murderer been brought to justice. If we were disposed to paint a picture

of the state of London, after the manner of Lord Macaulay, from these materials (facts, be it remembered, recorded not in a lampoon or a satire, but on the registers of the police and the reports of coroners' inquests), what a den of assassins, what a seething caldron of vice and profligacy—what an abode of crime, disease, misery, and despair—might we represent the metropolis of the British empire to be!

Burt, as we have said, was a Cockney. His highest idea of sport was a little quiet hare-hunting. It was not until many years later that Somerville (to whose memory be all honour paid) sketched a character now happily not uncommon. It was reserved for us in the present day to see the keenest sportsman, the best rider to hounds, the most enduring deer-stalker, and most skilful angler, at the same time an accomplished scholar, an eloquent writer, an orator, and a statesman.<sup>1</sup> Amongst the wits of the reign of Queen Anne, the fox-hunting country squire was the constant subject of ridicule. Burt aped their mode of thought, and it will be seen that his

<sup>1</sup> That this is a true picture of a numerous class, will be admitted by all. To the minds of those who ever had the happi-

picture of the English squire is fully as unpleasing as that of the Highland laird ; it will be seen also how little foundation the latter, hostile and prejudiced as it is, affords for Lord Macaulay's representation of him as a filthy, treacherous savage, who held robbery to be a calling "not merely innocent but honourable," who revenged an insult by a "stab in the back," and who, whilst he was "taking his ease, fighting, hunting, or marauding," compelled his "aged mother, his pregnant wife, and his tender daughters" to till the soil and to reap the harvest.<sup>1</sup>

Burt thus compares the English fox-hunter and the Highland laird :—

"The first of these characters," he says, "is, I own, too trite to be given you—but this by way of comparison. The squire is proud of his estate and affluence of fortune, loud and positive over his October, impatient of contra-

ness to meet him—on the moor, in the field, in the House of Commons, or at his own fire-side—or who are acquainted with his admirable *Essays on Agriculture*, the late Mr Thomas

Gisborne of Yoxal Lodge will at once occur as one of the most remarkable examples of that class.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. p. 305.

“ diction, or rather will give no opportunity for  
“ it ; but whoops and halloos at every interval  
“ of his own talk, as if the company were to  
“ supply the absence of his hounds. The par-  
“ ticular characters of the pack, the various  
“ occurrences in a chase, where Jowler is the  
“ eternal hero, make the constant topic of his  
“ discourse, though perhaps none others are in-  
“ terested in it. And his favourites, the tren-  
“ cher-hounds, if they please, may lie undis-  
“ turbed upon chairs and counterpanes of silk ;  
“ and upon the least cry, though not hurt, his  
“ pity is excited more for them than if one of  
“ his children had broken a limb ; and to that  
“ pity his anger succeeds, to the terror of the  
“ whole family.

“ The laird is national, vain of the number of  
“ his followers and his absolute command over  
“ them. In case of contradiction he is loud and  
“ imperious, and even dangerous, being always  
“ attended by those who are bound to support  
“ his arbitrary sentiments.

“ The great antiquity of his family, and the  
“ heroic actions of his ancestors, in their con-  
“ quests upon the enemy clans, is the inexhaus-

“ tible theme of his conversation ; and, being  
“ accustomed to dominion, he imagines himself,  
“ in his usky, to be a sovereign prince, and, as  
“ I said before, fancies he may dispose of heads  
“ at his pleasure.

“ Thus one of them places his vanity in his  
“ fortune and his pleasure in his hounds. The  
“ other’s pride is in his lineage, and his delight  
“ is in command, both arbitrary in their way ;  
“ and this the excess of liquor discovers in both.  
“ So that what little difference there is between  
“ them, seems to arise from the accident of their  
“ birth ; and if the exchange of countries had  
“ been made in their infancy, I make no doubt  
“ but each might have had the other’s place, as  
“ they stand separately described in this letter.  
“ On the contrary, in like manner as we have  
“ many country gentlemen, merely such, of great  
“ humanity and agreeable (if not general) con-  
“ versation ; so in the Highlands I have met  
“ with some lairds who surprised me with their  
“ good sense and polite behaviour, being so far  
“ removed from the more civilised part of the  
“ world, and considering the wildness of the  
“ country, which one would think was sufficient



“ of itself to give a savage turn to a mind the  
“ most humane.”<sup>1</sup>

It may perhaps be said that Lord Macaulay makes amends to the Highlands for his groundless slanders by his equally groundless flattery. That the Highland gentleman has no right to complain of his stating that his clothes were “ begrimed with the accumulated filth of years,” and that he dwelt in a hovel that “ smelt worse “ than an English hogstye,” because he says in the next line that he did the honours of his hogstye with a “ lofty courtesy worthy of the most “ splendid circle of Versailles.” That “ in the “ Highland councils men who would not have “ been qualified for the duty of parish clerks” (by which, if he means anything, Lord Macaulay must mean that they were not “ men of sweet “ voice and becoming gravity to raise the psalm,” like the famous P. P., clerk of this parish), “ argued questions of peace and war, of tribute “ and homage, with ability worthy of Halifax and “ Carmarthen,” and that “ minstrels who did not “ know their letters” produced poems in which the “ tenderness of Otway” was mingled with

<sup>1</sup> BURT, vol. ii. p. 247.

“the vigour of Dryden.”<sup>1</sup> What the honours of a hogstye may be—whether Halifax or Carmarthen could “adventure to lead the psalm,” or exercised themselves in “singing godly ballads,” or what kind of verses were produced by minstrels who were unable to commit them to writing, and whose productions have consequently not come down to our day—we know not. But, to quote a homely proverb, two blacks do not make a white, and to call a man a thief, a murderer, and a filthy, abject, ignorant, illiterate savage, in one line, describing him in the next as graceful, dignified, and full of noble sensibility and lofty courtesy, with the intellect of a statesman and the genius of a poet, gives one about as accurate a picture of his mind and manners as one would obtain of his features by two reflections taken the one vertically and the other horizontally in the bowl of a silver spoon.

Lord Macaulay’s taste for, and, we are bound to add, his extensive knowledge of, the most worthless productions that have survived from the time of the Revolution to our own day, is amusing. It is a class of literature which would

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. pp. 307, 308.

have made Grandpapa Mills's hair stand on end. It is enough to make the staid old Quaker turn in his grave to think of his graceless grandson flirting with Mrs Manley and Afra Behn. From the latter lady he cites<sup>1</sup> a "coarse and profane "Scotch poem," describing, in terms which he is too modest to quote, "how the first Hielandman "was made." Possibly it is the same modesty, and a feeling of reluctance to corrupt his readers, which has induced Lord Macaulay to cite a volume in which this poem is *not* to be found. In that volume, however, there happens to be a description of a Dutchman equally indecent, and, though Lord Macaulay may perhaps not admit it, equally worthy of belief. Portraits of Irishmen, just as authentic, abound in the farces which were popular a few years later; and even now the English gentleman on the French stage, with his mouth full of "rosbif" and "Goddams," threatens to "sell his vife at Smitfield."

If Lord Macaulay's New Zealander should take to writing history after the fashion of his great progenitor, he may perhaps paint the Welsh in colours similar to and upon authorities

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. p. 247.

as trustworthy as those Lord Macaulay has used and relied upon in his picture of the Scotch. If he should, his description will be something of the following kind :—

“ In the days of Queen Victoria, the inhabitant of the Principality was a savage and a thief. He subsisted by plunder. The plough was unknown. He snatched from his more industrious neighbour his flocks and his herds. When the flesh he thus obtained was exhausted, he gnawed the bones like a dog, until hunger compelled him again to visit the homesteads and larders of England. With all the vices, he had few or none of the virtues of the savage. He was ungrateful and inhospitable. That this was his character is proved by verses which still re-echo in the nurseries of Belgrave Square and along the marches of Wales :—

‘ Taffy was a Welshman,  
Taffy was a thief ;  
Taffy came to my house,  
Stole a piece of beef.  
I went to Taffy’s house,  
Taffy was from home ;  
Taffy came to my house,  
Stole a marrow-bone.’ ”

This is every bit as authentic as Lord Macau-

lay's description of the Highlanders. Such history may be supplied in any quantity and at the shortest notice. All that is necessary is a volume of cotemporary lampoons, a bundle of political songs, or a memory in which such things are stored, and which may save the trouble of reference. The genius it requires is a genius for being abusive. The banks of the Thames and the Cam furnish abundance of professors, male and female, of the art of vituperation ; but as Lord Macaulay, from his frequent repetition of the same terms of abuse, seems to have exhausted his "derangement of epitaphs," we would recommend him to turn to Viner's Abridgment, title *Action for Words*, where he will find one hundred and thirty folio pages of scolding, from which he may select any phrase that suits his purpose, with the advantage of knowing also the nice distinctions by which the law has decided what words are and what are not actionable, which may be used with impunity against the living, and which must be reserved for the safe slander of the dead.

#### IV.

##### LORD MACAULAY AND DUNDEE.<sup>1</sup>

FEW celebrated men have suffered more injustice at the hands of posterity than John Grahame of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee. A perverse fate seems to have pursued his memory. Falling upon evil days, and playing an important part in the closing scenes of a dark and tragic period, it is not to be wondered at that his acts should have been misrepresented, and his character distorted, by cotemporary malice and falsehood. But the ill fortune of Claverhouse has pursued him to our own times. Sir Walter Scott once remarked, with perfect truth, “that  
“ no character had been so foully traduced as  
“ that of the Viscount of Dundee—that, thanks  
“ to Wodrow, Crookshank, and such chroniclers,  
“ he, who was every inch a soldier and a gentle-

<sup>1</sup> *Blackwood's Magazine.* Aug. 1860.



“ man, still passed among the Scottish vulgar for a  
“ ruffian desperado, who rode a goblin horse, was  
“ proof against shot, and in league with the devil.”<sup>1</sup>

Unhappily it is not among the Scottish vulgar alone that misconception as to the character of Dundee has prevailed. It is indeed only very lately, and principally in consequence of the reaction produced by the unscrupulous virulence of recent attacks upon his memory, that investigations have been made, which have placed his character in a truer light, and removed the load of obloquy under which it has so long and so unjustly lain. True as Sir Walter Scott's instincts and sympathies were, even he has admitted into his masterly portrait of Claverhouse some touches darker than can be justified by what we now know of his character. This is to be attributed partly to the fact that many circumstances have come to light since *Old Mortality* was written, and partly to the excellences of Sir Walter Scott's own character, which became, by excess, defects. His acquaintance with the times of which he wrote was profound; his power of reproducing the character he depicted—of evoking not merely

<sup>1</sup> LOCKHART'S *Life of Scott*, vol. iv. p. 38.

the form and lineaments of the dead, but of breathing into that form the very soul by which it had been animated—was unequalled by any but Shakespeare himself ; and his mind was far too great, his sympathies too catholic, and his disposition too generous, to permit him to pervert this power to the service of party aims, or the promulgation of his individual opinions and predilections. His fault lay in the opposite direction. His opponents found more than justice at his hands, whilst those with whose opinions and characters he sympathised, sometimes found less. He has adorned Balfour of Burley with a wild heroism far higher than should be awarded to the savage murderer of Archbishop Sharpe, and has dealt out but scant measure of justice to the accomplished and chivalrous Grahame of Claverhouse.

Lord Macaulay's errors were of a different kind. They proceeded from a too eager partisanship, a too fervid attachment to the creeds and traditions of the party to which he belonged. We have never grudged our share of the tribute universally and justly paid to the eloquence, the power, the varied research, the vast knowledge,

which combine to chain the reader by a magical influence to the pages of his *History*. It stands like that fair cathedral, whose unfinished towers are reflected in the waters of the Rhine, a mighty and a beautiful fragment. We trust that no feeblener hand will attempt its completion ; and we indulge with pleasure the belief that future volumes would have redeemed the injustice into which an impetuous temperament, a love of striking and picturesque effects, and sometimes a natural, though dangerous, delight in the exercise of his own powers, have too often betrayed the historian.

There are few occurrences that so deeply impress the mind and touch the heart, as when a noble antagonist is struck down in the full vigour of his powers. The eloquent pen which placed in vivid reality before our eyes the defence of Derry and the trial of Warren Hastings, which painted the court of Charles II. with the gaiety of Watteau, and the Black Hole of Calcutta with the power of Rembrandt, has dropped from the hand that guided it ; the flashing eye which heralded the impetuous words to which we have often listened with delight is dim ; and the stores

of that marvellous memory, where priceless jewels and worthless trifles were alike treasured up, will never more be poured out in prodigal generosity for our instruction and delight.

Justice to the mighty dead with whose ashes his own are now mingled, has, however, frequently compelled us to point out what have appeared to us to be the errors, the mistakes, and the faults of Lord Macaulay's *History*.

The conqueror of Blenheim, the founder of Pennsylvania, the hero of Killiecrankie, and the victim of Glencoe, stand now no further from us than he whom we have so lately lost. The narrow line over which we may be as suddenly summoned, is all that separates us. Silent shadows, they demand equal justice. But we enter upon our present task with mournful feelings, and we trust that we shall keep carefully in view, that in writing of the dead it is the duty no less of the critic than of the historian to keep ever in mind that he is dealing with those who cannot reply.

Lord Macaulay's portrait of Claverhouse is dashed in with the boldest handling, and in the darkest colours. Every lineament is that of a

fiend. Courage—the courage of a demon fearing neither God nor man—is the only virtue, if indeed such courage can be called a virtue, he allows him. A few lines suffice for the sketch:—

“ Pre-eminent among the bands which oppressed and wasted these unhappy districts, were the dragoons commanded by John Gra-hame of Claverhouse. The story ran that these wicked men used in their revels to play at the torments of hell, and to call each other by the names of devils and damned souls. The chief of this Tophet, a soldier of distinguished courage and professional skill, but rapacious and profane, of violent temper and of obdurate heart, has left a name which, wherever the Scottish race is settled on the face of the globe, is mentioned with a peculiar energy of hatred. To recapitulate all the crimes by which this man, and men like him, goaded the peasantry of the Western Lowlands into madness, would be an endless task.”<sup>1</sup>

We confess that we are at a loss to understand the extreme horror with which the satanic sports of the soldiery seem to have inspired Lord

<sup>1</sup> MAC., vol. i. p. 498.

Macaulay. One would not expect the amusements of troopers to be of the most refined description, but it is going rather far to conclude that a dragoon must necessarily be "wild, wicked, "and hard-hearted,"<sup>1</sup> because he hits a comrade across the shoulders in sport, and calls him Beelzebub. Sportive allusions to the prince of darkness and his imps do not necessarily imply allegiance to his power. King George III. was certainly a pious prince, yet "the story runs," as Lord Macaulay would say, that when Lord Erskine presented the corps of volunteers belonging to the Inns of Court to his Majesty, the King exclaimed, "What! what! *all* lawyers?" "Call them the Devil's Own—call them the Devil's "Own." And "the Devil's Own" they were called from that day forward; their learned and gallant successors, who drill in Lincoln's-Inn Garden and King's Bench Walk still rejoicing in the same infernal designation, and being rather proud of it. We remember a *jeu d'esprit*, currently ascribed to an eminent Whig pen, which ran the circuit of the papers some twenty years ago, in which every eminent member of the Tory

<sup>1</sup> "Those wild and hard-hearted men, who nicknamed one another Beelzebub and Apollyon." Vol. iii. p. 499.



party was adorned with his particular diabolical cognomen. We quote from memory, but we have a very distinct recollection of the following lines as a part of the catalogue :—

" Devils of wit and devils of daring,  
Mephistopheles Lyndhurst and Mammon Baring ;  
Devils of wealth and devils of zeal,  
Belial Croker and Beelzebub Peel."

Yet we never heard that the venerable ex-chancellor felt his dignity compromised, or that Sir Robert Peel ever considered whether there might not be three courses open to him, any one of which he might select to punish the audacious poet. Nor, we conceive, would Lord Macaulay have denounced him as "wicked and profane."

To descend from kings and statesmen to "mortal men and miscreants," we remember when the "Olympic Devils" was the most popular of all amusements. It was in our younger days, when, in that pleasant little theatre behind the Strand Church, men, and women too, used to "play at the torments of hell," and to call each other by very diabolical names. Yet the chief of that Tophet in Wych Street, an actress of distinguished beauty and professional skill, was, we trust, neither rapacious nor profane, and certainly not of

violent temper nor obdurate heart, and has left a name which, wherever the English race is settled on the face of the globe, is mentioned with a peculiar energy of anything but hatred.

To come to more important matters : When Lord Macaulay asserts that Claverhouse was one of those whose conduct “goaded the peasantry of the Western Lowlands into madness,” he shows an utter disregard both of facts and dates. There is probably but one opinion now as to the insanity of the attempt to force Episcopacy upon Scotland. But Prelacy was restored in May 1662;<sup>1</sup> the ministers were ejected in the month of November in the same year.<sup>2</sup> The Court of Ecclesiastical Commission commenced its proceedings in 1664.<sup>3</sup> The military oppressions raged in 1665.<sup>4</sup> The insurrection which terminated in the defeat of Pentland took place the following year. Then followed countless executions, civil and military. The boot and the gibbet were in constant employment. In 1668 the life of Sharpe was

<sup>1</sup> LAING, ii. 21, 1st edit., vol. iv. of 2d edit.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., ii. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., ii. 35.

attempted by Mitchell. In 1670, rigorous laws were passed against conventicles ; at the same time, the tyranny and insolence of Lauderdale excited universal hatred and disgust. In 1676 the proceedings of the Government became even more severe. " Letters of intercommuning," as they were called, were issued, denouncing the severest penalties against all who should afford meat, drink, or shelter to an outlaw.<sup>1</sup> The field-preachers were hunted down by the soldiery, but their hearers rallied round them, and contests, frequently bloody and often of doubtful issue, occurred. The Bass was converted into a prison, the dungeons of which were crowded with captive ministers, and the Highland host was called in to ravage the unhappy Western Lowlands at the latter end of 1677.<sup>2</sup>

These were the outrages by which the country was "goaded into madness." But Claverhouse had not, nor could he have, any part or share whatever in them. He was absent from the country, serving in France and Holland, the whole of the time during which they were committed, and did not return to Scotland until the

<sup>1</sup> LAING, ii. 48, 56, 68.

<sup>2</sup> WODROW, i. 453-480, fol.

early part of the year 1678.<sup>1</sup> The first mention of him that occurs in Wodrow is in May 1679, immediately before the skirmish of Drumclog. Lord Macaulay had Wodrow before him—he refers to him as his sole authority for this passage; yet it is upon Wodrow's pages that the dates and facts are to be found which contradict his deliberate and often-repeated assertion.

Lord Macaulay selects five instances of the crimes “by which the peasantry of the Western “Lowlands were goaded into madness.”<sup>2</sup> An ordinary reader would certainly infer from his language that Claverhouse was concerned in all these instances, and would be somewhat surprised, after perusing Lord Macaulay's narrative, to find, on turning to his authority, that in three out of the five cases Claverhouse had no share whatever, and that in a fourth he acted the part of an intercessor for mercy, and exerted himself in vain to save the life of the victim. In the most cruel of all—that of Margaret Maclachlan and Margaret Wilson—we find, on referring to Wodrow, that *a* Colonel Graham was concerned, but it was Colonel *David*

<sup>1</sup> NAPIER, *Memoirs of Dundee*, 182-5.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 498; 1849. Vol. ii. p. 73; 1858.

Graham, the sheriff of Wigtownshire, not Colonel *John* Grahame of Claverhouse.<sup>1</sup> Lord Macaulay might as well have confounded David Hume with Joseph Hume, or, as he did upon another occasion, Patrick Graham of the Town Guard with the hero of Killiecrankie, or George Penne with the founder of Pennsylvania. Even in this case, cruel and atrocious as it was, Lord Macaulay misquotes his authorities. He asserts that these unhappy women “suffered death for “their religion.” Wodrow and Crookshank, on the contrary, distinctly state that they were indicted and convicted for being in open rebellion at Bothwell Bridge and Aird’s Moss. Lord Macaulay also omits to mention what is stated by the historians he refers to—namely, that upon the case being brought to the notice of the Council, the prisoners were respited, and a pardon recommended, but that the execution was hurried on by the brutality of Major Windram and the Laird of Lagg.<sup>2</sup>

In the case of Andrew Hislop, Lord Macaulay says that the Laird of Westerhall having discovered that one of the proscribed Covenanters had found shelter in the house of a

<sup>1</sup> WODROW, ii. 505; CROOKSHANK, ii. 386.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

respectable widow, and had died there, “ pulled  
“ down the house of the poor woman, carried  
“ away her furniture, and, leaving her and her  
“ *younger* children to wander in the fields,  
“ *dragged her son Andrew, who was still a*  
“ *lad, before Claverhouse, who happened to be*  
“ *marching through that part of the country.*  
“ Claverhouse was that day strangely lenient.  
“ Some thought that he had not been quite him-  
“ self since the death of the Christian Carrier,  
“ ten days before. But Westerhall was eager  
“ to signalise his loyalty, and extorted a sullen  
“ consent.”<sup>1</sup>

For this Lord Macaulay cites Wodrow, but Wodrow's story is very different. It was not Westerhall that brought Hislop a prisoner before Claverhouse, but Claverhouse that brought him before Westerhall, who, it is evident from the whole narrative, at that time possessed an authority superior to that of Claverhouse. Wodrow, narrates the barbarous expulsion of the widow and her children in the following words :  
“ Whereupon Westerraw went immediately to  
“ the house, and spoiled it, taking away every-  
“ thing that was portable, and pulled down the

<sup>1</sup> MACAULAY, ii. 76, ed. 1858.



“ house, putting the woman and her children to  
 “ the fields. When thus they are forced to wan-  
 “ der, Claverhouse falls upon Andrew Hislop in  
 “ the fields, May 10, and seized him, *without*  
 “ *any design, as appeared, to murder him,*  
 “ *bringing him prisoner with him to Eskdale*  
 “ *unto Westerraw that night.*”<sup>1</sup>

Wodrow adds: “ Claverhouse in this instance  
 “ was very backward, perhaps not wanting his  
 “ own reflections upon John Brown’s murder  
 “ the first of this month, as we have heard,  
 “ and pressed the delay of the execution. But  
 “ Westerraw urged till the other yielded, saying,  
 “ ‘ *The blood of this poor man be upon you,*  
 “ ‘ *Westerraw ; I am free of it.*’ ”<sup>2</sup>

This is the story as told by the bitterest enemy of Claverhouse. It is impossible for any one who looks at it with the slightest candour, or desire to discern the truth, not to perceive that the influence of Claverhouse was exercised on the side of humanity and mercy. Why does Lord Macaulay, whose narrative so frequently, without any authority whatever, assumes the dramatic form, in this instance suppress the words of Claverhouse, graphically recorded both by Wodrow

<sup>1</sup> WODROW, ii. 507.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

and Crookshank, "*The blood of this poor man be upon you, Westerraw; I am free of it?*"

We now come to the only authority (except vulgar tradition) that Lord Macaulay has given for his character of Claverhouse. It is the often-repeated story of "John Brown, the Christian "Carrier." Immediately upon the appearance of the first volume of Lord Macaulay's *History*, Professor Aytoun challenged the correctness of his picture of Claverhouse, and in a note to his noble and spirit-stirring "Burial - March of "Dundee," exposed, by means of the most accurate reasoning and the most conclusive evidence, the errors into which the historian had fallen. It is much to be regretted that Lord Macaulay, who availed himself of the corrections of the Professor upon some minor points, did not exercise the same discretion on this more important matter. The picture of Claverhouse, and the story of John Brown, have reappeared unaltered in each successive edition that has issued from the press. We quote from the one published in 1858 :—

"John Brown, a poor carrier of Lanarkshire, "was, for his singular piety, commonly called

“ the Christian Carrier. Many years later, when  
“ Scotland enjoyed rest, prosperity, and religious  
“ freedom, old men, who remembered the  
“ evil days, described him as one versed in divine  
“ things, blameless in life, and so peaceable that  
“ the tyrants could find no offence in him, except  
“ that he absented himself from the public  
“ worship of the Episcopalians. On the first of  
“ May he was cutting turf, when he was seized  
“ by Claverhouse’s dragoons, rapidly examined,  
“ *convicted of nonconformity*, and sentenced to  
“ death. It is said that, even among the soldiers,  
“ it was not easy to find an executioner.  
“ For the wife of the poor man was present :  
“ she led one child by the hand : it was easy to  
“ see that she was about to give birth to another ;  
“ and even those wild and hard-hearted men,  
“ who nicknamed one another Beelzebub and  
“ Apollyon, shrank from the great wickedness  
“ of butchering her husband before her face.  
“ The prisoner, meanwhile, raised above himself  
“ by the near prospect of eternity, prayed loud  
“ and fervently, as one inspired, *till Claverhouse,*  
“ *in a fury, shot him dead.* It was reported by  
“ credible witnesses that the widow cried out in

“ her agony, ‘ Well, sir, well, the day of reckon-  
 “ ‘ ing will come ;’ and that the murderer re-  
 “ plied, ‘ To man I can answer for what I have  
 “ ‘ done, and as for God, I will take him into  
 “ ‘ mine own hand.’ Yet it was rumoured that  
 “ even on his seared conscience and adamantine  
 “ heart the dying ejaculations of his victim made  
 “ an impression which was never effaced.”<sup>1</sup>

This story of John Brown affords a curious example of the mode in which calumnies are propagated and grow ; and at the risk of some repetition of what has already been so well done by Professor Aytoun, we shall proceed to trace the falsehood to its source.

Lord Macaulay cites as his authority “ Wodrow, iii. ix. 6.” But though following him in the main, Lord Macaulay seems to have been conscious that Wodrow’s narrative would not bear the test of critical examination.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MACAULAY, vol. i. 499, 8vo., “ got any information of John’s  
 ii. 74. Edit. 1858. “ piety and non-conformity, I

<sup>2</sup> Wodrow’s Narrative is as “ cannot tell, but he caused  
 follows : “ This good man had “ bring him up to his own door,  
 “ come home and was at his “ from the place where he was.  
 “ work, near his own house in “ I do not find that they were  
 “ Priestfield, casting peats. Cla- “ at much trouble with him in  
 “ verhouse was coming from “ interrogations and questions ;  
 “ Lesmahago with three troops “ we see them now almost wear-  
 “ of dragoons ; whether he had “ ed of that leisurely way of do-

Wodrow asserts that the soldiers were melted and moved by the "scriptural expressions and "grace of prayer" of John Brown, and mutinied, refusing to execute the commands of their officer. This seems to have been too gross and palpable an improbability for Lord Macaulay, who represents them as merely moved by the natural feeling of compassion for the unhappy wife. This is certainly a more probable story, but it is *not*

"ing business; neither do any  
"of my informations bear that  
"the Abjuration Oath was of-  
"fered to him.

"With some difficulty he was  
"allowed to pray, which he did  
"with the greatest liberty and  
"melting, and withal, in such  
"suitable and scriptural ex-  
"pressions, and in a peculiar  
"judicial style, he having great  
"measures of the gift as well as  
"the grace of prayer, that the  
"soldiers were affected and as-  
"tonished; yea, which is yet  
"more singular, such convic-  
"tions were left in their bosoms,  
"that, as my informations bear,  
"not one of them would shoot  
"him, or obey Claverhouse's  
"command, so that he was  
"forced to turn executioner  
"himself, and in a fret shot  
"him with his own hand, be-  
"fore his own door, his wife,

"with a young infant standing  
"by, and she very near the time  
"of her delivery of another  
"child.

"When tears and entreaties  
"could not prevail, and Claver-  
"house had shot him dead, I  
"am credibly informed the  
"widow said to him, 'Well,  
" 'sir, you must give an ac-  
" 'count of what you have  
" 'done.' Claverhouse answer-  
"ed, 'To men, I can be answer-  
" 'able, and as for God, I'll  
" 'take him into my own  
" 'hand.' I am well informed  
"that Claverhouse himself fre-  
"quently acknowledged after-  
"wards, that John Brown's  
"prayer left such impressions  
"upon his spirit, that he could  
"never get altogether worn off,  
"when he gave himself liberty  
"to think of it."—WODROW,  
vol. ii. 503.

the tale told by Wodrow. Again, Lord Macaulay asserts that Claverhouse shot John Brown dead in a fit of passion, excited by his loud and fervent prayers. Wodrow's statement is very different. He says that "not one of the soldiers  
" would shoot him, or obey Claverhouse's com-  
" mands, so that he was forced to turn execu-  
" tioner himself, and in a fret shot him with his  
" own hand."<sup>1</sup> Wodrow, it will be seen, asserts positively the refusal of the soldiers, and attributes the act of Claverhouse to that refusal. Lord Macaulay confines his statement to a natural reluctance on the part of the soldiers, and attributes the act of Claverhouse to a sudden gust of brutal and furious passion. It is painful to observe, and difficult to believe, the extent to which Lord Macaulay has considered himself entitled to alter and pervert the authority he quotes; and it is strange that he should have adopted, upon the sole authority of Wodrow, a story which he yet appears to have felt to be so grossly improbable, that he could not produce it until he had pruned down some of its most extravagant features.

<sup>1</sup> WODROW, B. iii., chap. ix.



Wodrow's narrative first appeared in 1722<sup>1</sup>—thirty-seven years after the event is supposed to have taken place, and thirty-four after the Revolution. Professor Aytoun justly remarks that—

“These dates are of the utmost importance in considering a matter of this kind. The Episcopal party which adhered to the cause of King James was driven from power at the Revolution, and the Episcopal Church proscribed. No mercy was shown to opponents in the literary war which followed. Every species of invective and vituperation was lavished upon the supporters of the fallen dynasty. *Yet for thirty-three years after the Revolution, the details of this atrocious murder were never revealed to the public.*”<sup>2</sup>

Wodrow gives no authority whatever for his narrative. But there is another historian, Patrick Walker the packman, who, two years after the appearance of Wodrow's *History*, namely, in 1724, gave a very different, and in many respects a contradictory, account of the same transaction.

<sup>1</sup> The first volume was published in 1721, the second in 1722.

<sup>2</sup> *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers*, App., p. 334.

Professor Aytoun, with rather an excess of candour, says that "Mr Macaulay may not have known that such testimony ever existed, for even the most painstaking historian is sure to pass over some material in so wide a field." It is difficult to suppose that Lord Macaulay could have been unaware of the existence of a story which Sir Walter Scott has twice repeated at full length ; first in the notes to the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* ;<sup>1</sup> and, secondly, in the *Tales of a Grandfather*,<sup>2</sup> in both cases citing Walker's *Life of Peden* as his authority. But besides this there is other evidence of the falsehood of Wodrow, which it is difficult to account for his having overlooked.

In 1749 the Rev. William Crookshank published his *History of the State and Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*. In the preface he says—

"When I first engaged in this undertaking, I only intended to abridge Mr Wodrow's *History* ; but by the advice of friends I was induced to use other helps for making the history of this persecuting period more clear

<sup>1</sup> Note to the "Battle of Bothwell Brig."

<sup>2</sup> *History of Scotland*, chap. lii.

“ and full. Accordingly, when I mention any-  
“ thing not to be found in Wodrow, I generally  
“ tell my author, or quote him in the margin ;  
“ so that though *there is nothing I thought*  
“ *material in that author which I have omitted,*  
“ yet the reader will find many things of conse-  
“ quence in the following work which the other  
“ takes no notice of.”<sup>1</sup>

When Crookshank arrives at that part of his *History* which relates to John Brown, he abandons Wodrow altogether, and adopts Walker's narrative, citing him in the margin as his authority.<sup>2</sup> Here, then, we find Wodrow contradicted by the contemporary authority of Walker ; Crookshank, the disciple and follower of Wodrow, confirming that contradiction, and feeling himself obliged to discard his master's story ; Sir Walter Scott casting the weight of his authority into the same scale ; and yet Lord Macaulay, with all this evidence before him, added to the gross improbability of the tale itself, reproduces Wodrow's story in edition after edition, with certain alterations purely his own, and calls it History !

Walker hated Claverhouse with a hatred fully

<sup>1</sup> CROOKSHANK, Preface, xix.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. 375-6.

as bitter as that of Wodrow; he cannot, therefore, be suspected of having suppressed or softened down any circumstance that could tell against him, or enhance the tragic nature of the scene. He states that he derived part, at least, of his account from the widow of the murdered man; the testimony he relies upon is therefore that most hostile to Claverhouse. Walker was a contemporary of Wodrow, though many years older, and had borne a part in the troubled times to which the *History* of the latter relates. In 1682 he shot a dragoon who attempted to capture him. According to Walker's own account, he and two of his comrades, returning from a nightly meeting armed with firearms, were pursued by one Francis Garden, a trooper in Lord Airley's regiment, alone, and armed only with his sword. How he intended to capture his prisoners, unless after the Irish fashion of "surrounding" them, does not very clearly appear. The result, however, was, that Walker shot him through the head. Writing more than thirty years after the event, and when, according to Lord Macaulay, "Scotland enjoyed rest, prosperity, and religious freedom," he says—

“ When I saw his blood run, I wished that all  
“ the blood of the Lord’s stated and avowed  
“ enemies in Scotland had been in his veins :  
“ having such a clear call and opportunity, *I*  
“ *would have rejoiced to have seen it all gone*  
“ *out with a gush.*”<sup>1</sup>

We may therefore feel well assured that nothing which could be told against such a “stated and avowed enemy of the Lord” as Claverhouse, would be omitted by Walker ; and it should at least throw a doubt on the veracity of Wodrow, when we find so zealous a Covenanter denouncing his *History* as a collection of “ lies and groundless stories.”

Walker’s *Life of Peden* first appeared in 1724, three years after the publication of Wodrow’s *History*. It is still widely circulated and extremely popular amongst the peasants of Scotland, and has been frequently reprinted up to the present time in the form of a chap-book. That even this account, though more trustworthy than that of Wodrow, is not to be received with implicit confidence, will, we think, be admitted, when it is observed that the story is first

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Peden* ; NAPIER’S *Memorials of Dundee*, 157.

revealed in a miraculous manner to the inspired Mr Peden, or as he commonly calls himself, "Old Sandy." On the morning of John Brown's death, Peden was at a house about ten or eleven miles distant.

"Betwixt seven and eight he desired to call  
"in the family that he might pray among them.  
"He said, 'Lord when wilt thou avenge Brown's  
"blood? Oh, let Brown's blood be precious in  
"thy sight, and hasten the day when thou'lt  
"avenge it, with Cameron's, Cargill's, and many  
"other of our martyrs' names. And oh for  
"that day when the Lord would avenge all  
"their bloods!' When ended, John Muirhead  
"inquired what he meant by Brown's blood?  
"He said twice over, 'What do I mean?  
"Claverhouse has been at the Preshill this  
"morning, and has cruelly murdered John  
"Brown. His corpse is lying at the end of his  
"house, and his poor wife sitting weeping by  
"his corpse, and not a soul to speak comfort-  
"ably to her. This morning, after the sun-  
"rising, I saw a strange apparition in the  
"firmament, the appearance of a very bright,  
"clear, shining star fall from heaven to earth ;



“ ‘and, indeed, there is a clear, shining light  
“ ‘fallen this day, the greatest Christian that  
“ ‘ever I conversed with.’ ”<sup>1</sup>

Walker's narrative of the death of Brown is as follows. Between five and six in the morning, he says—

“ The said John Brown having performed  
“ the worship of God in his family, was going,  
“ with a spade in his hand, to make ready some  
“ peat ground. The mist being very dark, he  
“ knew not until cruel and bloody Claverhouse  
“ compassed him with three troops of horse,  
“ brought him to his house, and there examined  
“ him ; who, though he was a man of a stam-  
“ mering speech, yet answered him distinctly  
“ and solidly, which made Claverhouse to ex-  
“ amine those whom he had taken to be his  
“ guides through the muirs, if ever they heard  
“ him preach ? They answered, ‘ No, no ; he  
“ ‘ was never a preacher.’ He said, ‘ If he has  
“ ‘ never preached, meikle he has prayed in his  
“ ‘ time.’ He said to John, ‘ Go to your prayers,  
“ ‘ for you shall immediately die.’ When he was  
“ praying, Claverhouse interrupted him three

<sup>1</sup> Bio. Pres. vol. i. 75. *Life of Peden.*

“ times ; one time that he stopt him, he was  
“ pleading that the Lord would spare a remnant,  
“ and not make a full end in the day of His  
“ anger. Claverhouse said, ‘ I gave you time to  
“ ‘ pray, and ye are begun to preach.’ He turned  
“ upon his knees and said, ‘ Sir, you know nei-  
“ ‘ ther the nature of preaching or praying, that  
“ ‘ calls this preaching.’ Then continued without  
“ confusion. When ended, Claverhouse said,  
“ ‘ Take good-night of your wife and children.’  
“ His wife, standing by with her child in her  
“ arms that she had brought forth to him, and  
“ another child of his first wife’s, he came to her  
“ and said, ‘ Now, Marian, the day is come that  
“ ‘ I told you would come, when I spake first to  
“ ‘ you of marrying me.’ She said, ‘ Indeed,  
“ ‘ John, I can willingly part with you.’ ‘ Then,’  
“ he said, ‘ This is all I desire ; I have no more  
“ ‘ to do but die.’ He kissed his wife and bairns,  
“ and wished purchased and promised blessings  
“ to be multiplied upon them, and his blessing.  
“ Claverhouse ordered six soldiers to shoot him.  
“ The most part of the bullets came upon his  
“ head, which scattered his brains upon the  
“ ground. Claverhouse said to his wife, ‘ What

“ ‘thinkest thou of thy husband now, woman?’  
“ She said, ‘I thought ever much of him, and  
“ ‘now as much as ever.’ He said, ‘It were but  
“ ‘justice to lay thee beside him.’ She said, ‘If  
“ ‘you were permitted, I doubt not but your  
“ ‘crueltie would go that length; but how will  
“ ‘ye make answer for this morning’s work?’  
“ He said, ‘To man I can be answerable, and  
“ ‘for God, I will take him in my own hand.’  
“ Claverhouse mounted his horse, and marched,  
“ and left her with the corpse of her dead husband lying there; she set the bairn on the  
“ ground, and gathered his brains, and tied up  
“ his head, and straighted his body, and covered  
“ him in her plaid, and sat down and wept over  
“ him. It being a very desert place, where  
“ never victual grew, and far from neighbours,  
“ it was some time before any friends came to  
“ her. The first that came was a very fit hand,  
“ that old singular Christian woman in the  
“ Cumberhead, named Elizabeth Menzies, three  
“ miles distant, who had been tried with the  
“ violent death of her husband at Pentland,  
“ afterwards of two worthy sons—Thomas Weir,  
“ who was killed at Drumclog, and David Steel,

“ who was suddenly shot afterwards when taken.  
“ The said Marian Weir, sitting upon her husband’s grave, told me, that before that she  
“ could see no blood but she was in danger to  
“ faint, and yet she was helped to be a witness  
“ to all this without either fainting or confusion;  
“ except when the shots were let off, her eyes  
“ dazzled.”<sup>1</sup>

That this wild, picturesque, and touching story should have taken strong hold on the poetical imagination and kind heart of Sir Walter Scott, can be no matter of surprise to any one. That it did so, is shown, not only by his frequent reference to it, but by the mode in which his genius has interwoven some of the most affecting incidents into the beautiful episode of Bessie Maclure.<sup>2</sup> But the historian had a far different task from that of the novelist. His duty was to compare the two narratives, and to examine how much of either should be admitted as trustworthy evidence. That Walker’s testimony is sufficient to convict Wodrow of falsehood in asserting that the

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Peden*. Biographia  
Presbyteriana, vol. i. 72, 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Old Mortality*, chap. vi.

soldiers mutinied, and that Claverhouse was himself the executioner of John Brown, is abundantly clear. Walker's informant was the widow of John Brown, an eyewitness of the transaction. She told the story "sitting on her husband's grave." To suppose that she could have omitted such a circumstance as that her husband's eloquence had moved the hearts of the soldiers to mutiny, and compelled their commander to take upon himself the revolting office of an executioner, would be absurd. Nor is this all. We find the circumstances of his death narrated with the utmost particularity, no doubt by the widow herself, and there is not from beginning to end a hint that the soldiers shrank from executing the commands of their officer. But when we come to the adjuncts of the story, to the conversation, to the particular expressions supposed to have been used by Claverhouse, to his imputed "obduracy and profanity," his "seared conscience and adamant heart," the question assumes a very different aspect.

The poetical power of Walker's mind was of no mean order. As Sir Walter Scott observes, his "simple but affecting narrative," and his

“imitation of scriptural style, produces in some passages an effect not unlike what we feel in reading the beautiful Book of Ruth.”<sup>1</sup> The narrative constantly runs into the form of dialogue. Every one knows, and none better than those who have read Lord Macaulay’s *History* with care, how dangerous the dramatic talent is to a historian. In the majority of instances, even in Lord Macaulay’s own *History*, when we have had occasion to test the accuracy of passages which he has enclosed between inverted commas, as being the very words of the speaker, we have found them incorrectly quoted.<sup>2</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> *Minstrelsy*, App. A.

<sup>2</sup> The following are a few instances, taken almost at random:—

## ORIGINAL

## LORD MACAULAY.

“He [*i. e.* Claverhouse] told  
 “Keppoch in the presence of  
 “all the officers of his small  
 “army, that he would much  
 “rather choose to serve as a  
 “common soldier amongst dis-  
 “ciplined troops, than command  
 “such men as he, who seemed  
 “to make it his business to  
 “draw the odium of the country  
 “upon him. . . . He beg-  
 “ged that he would immedi-  
 “ately begone with his men,  
 “that he might not hereafter

“‘I would rather,’ *he said*,  
 “‘carry a musket in a respect-  
 “‘able regiment, than be cap-  
 “‘tain of such a gang of  
 “‘thieves.’” — MACAULAY, iii.  
 340.



seems in the highest degree improbable that an illiterate woman, such as Marion Brown, should be able, after many years, accurately to repeat the particular words which passed during such a scene of horror as, under any circumstances, the death of John Brown must have been. There are, besides, inconsistencies and mistakes in the narrative which are easily detected: Thus, the neighbour who visits the widow in her affliction, is, in one copy of the

## ORIGINAL.

"have an opportunity of affront-  
 "ing the general at his pleasure,  
 "or of making him and the  
 "better-disposed troops a cover  
 "to his robberies."—*Memoirs*  
*of Lochiel*, 243.

"When it was objected that  
 "he [*i. e.* Glengarry] would not  
 "be able to make it good, since  
 "his followers were not near  
 "equal to Lochiel's in numbers,  
 "he answered that the courage  
 "of his men would make up that  
 "defect."—*Mem. of Lochiel*, 254.

"The Lords replied, 'Nay,  
 "'we all well remember you  
 "'particularly mentioned the  
 "'flower-pots.'"—SPRATT'S  
*Narrative*, 70.

"Lord President.—'Young,  
 "'thou art the strangest crea-

## LORD MACAULAY.

"When he was reminded that  
 "Locheil's followers were in  
 "number nearly double of the  
 "Glengarry men—'No matter,'  
 "he cried, 'one M'Donald is  
 "'worth two Camerons.'"—  
 MACAULAY, iii. 341.

"Then the whole board broke  
 "forth, 'How dare you say so?  
 "'We all remember it.'"—  
 MACAULAY, iv. 252.

"'Man!' cried Carmarthen,  
 "'wouldst thou have us believe

*Life*, Elizabeth Menzies, and in another, Jean Brown, whilst she is still represented as the mother of Thomas Weir and David Steel, the latter of whom is said to have been “suddenly “*shot when taken*.” We know, however, that so far from this being the fact, David Steele was neither *taken* nor *shot*, but fell beneath the broadswords of the dragoons in a fray, during which they attempted to capture him.”<sup>1</sup>

We may, therefore, fairly take Walker’s ac-

## ORIGINAL.

“ ‘ture that ever I did hear of.  
 “ ‘Dost thou think we could  
 “ ‘imagine that the Bishop of  
 “ ‘Rochester would combine,’ ”  
 &c.—SPRAT’S *Narrative*, 71.

“ I left him praying God to  
 “ give him grace to repent; and  
 “ only adding that else he was  
 “ more in danger of his own  
 “ damnation than I of his accu-  
 “ sation in Parliament.”—*Ibid.*,  
 second part, p. 3.

## LORD MACAULAY.

“ ‘that the bishop combined,’ ”  
 &c.

“ ‘God give you repentance,  
 “ answered the bishop: ‘for, de-  
 “ pend upon it, you are in  
 “ ‘much more danger of being  
 “ ‘damned, than I of being im-  
 “ ‘peached.’ ”—MACAULAY, iv.  
 253.

The actual meaning may not be much altered in these examples, but it is not Claverhouse, Glengarry, Carmarthen, or Spratt that speaks, but Lord Macaulay, and a slight change of phraseology converts a dignified remonstrance into a brutal

insult, and a pious exhortation into something very like a vulgar oath, and that, too, put into the mouth of a bishop! Lord Macaulay’s inverted commas are always to be regarded with extreme caution.

<sup>1</sup> CRIGHTON’S *Memoirs*.

count as trustworthy for the fact that John Brown fell by the carbines of the soldiers acting under the orders of Claverhouse ; but for anything beyond that fact, his testimony must be received with caution. Military executions are, under any circumstances, sufficiently horrible : they are peculiarly so when they take place during a civil war. But, before we come to any conclusion upon the conduct of Claverhouse in this instance, we must inquire, first, what was the temper of the times, and what manner of men he had to deal with ; and, secondly, what were the particular circumstances of the individual case. With regard to the first, we will content ourselves with three instances, and they shall all be of the most notorious kind, and proved by the most unexceptionable evidence.

On the 3d of May 1679, David Hackston of Rathillet, John Balfour of Kinloch, and seven others, some of whom were gentlemen of good family, set forth, mounted and armed, for the purpose of waylaying and murdering one Carmichael, sheriff-depute of the county of Fife,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> WODROW, ii. 27.

who was obnoxious to the Covenanters, and whom they expected to find hunting in the neighbourhood of Scotstarbet. Carmichael was, however, warned of his danger by a shepherd, and escaped. After spending the greater part of the morning in a fruitless search, Rathillet and his party were about to disperse, when a boy came up and informed them that the Archbishop's coach was in a neighbouring village, and that he would soon pass near the spot where they then were. Disappointed of their intended victim, chance thus threw in their way one who was even more the object of their hatred. It was true that there was no recent or immediate cause for exasperation against Sharpe, but he was an apostate,—he had abandoned Presbyterianism for Episcopacy seventeen years before,—he was an archbishop,—he had already once narrowly escaped the pistol of an assassin, the shot which was intended for him having taken effect upon his friend, the Bishop of Orkney,—he was known to have shown little mercy towards those who had shown none to him,—he was old, unarmed, utterly defenceless, accompanied by no one but his daughter and some domestic servants,

who were wholly unable to offer any effectual resistance to nine men well armed and mounted. The temptation was too strong to be resisted. Rathillet and his party had come out expressly to commit murder. Their appetite for crime was sharpened by disappointment, when the victim they had least hoped, but most desired to immolate, presented himself ready for slaughter. Their resolution was immediately taken; the pistols which had been loaded, and the swords which had been sharpened for the murder of Carmichael, were turned against the Archbishop, and they spurred their horses to their utmost speed after the carriage. The coachman, alarmed at their pursuit, quickened his pace, and the Archbishop, looking out, and, seeing armed men approaching, turned to his daughter and exclaimed, "Lord have mercy upon me, my poor child, for I am gone!" He had scarcely spoken when three or four pistols were fired at the coach, and the best mounted of the pursuers, riding up to the postilion, struck him over the face with his sword, and shot and hamstrung his horse. The coach being thus stopped, the assailants again fired

into it upon the Archbishop and his daughter, and this time with more effect, for the former was wounded. The Archbishop opened the door, came out of the coach, and begged the assailants to spare his life. "There is no mercy," they replied, "for a Judas, an enemy and traitor to the cause of Christ." He then begged for mercy for his child. The details of the butchery which followed are too revolting to be repeated.<sup>1</sup> One of the murderers even exclaimed in horror to his comrades, to "spare those grey hairs." The daughter threw herself before her father, and received two wounds

<sup>1</sup> James Russell, one of the murderers, gives the following account of the final act of the tragedy: "Falling upon his knees, he said, 'For God's sake, save my life;' his daughter falling upon her knees, begged his life also. . . . John Balfour stroke him on the face, and Andrew Henderson stroke him on the hand, and cut it, and John Balfour rode him down; whereupon, he lying upon his face as if he had been dead, and James Russell, hearing his daughter say to Wallace [the Archbishop's servant] that

"there was life in him yet, in the time James was disarming the rest of the Bishop's men, went presently to him, and cast off his hat, for it would not cut at first, and *haked his head in pieces*. Having done this, his daughter came to him and cursed him, and called him a bloody murderer; and James answered, they were not murderers, for they were sent to execute God's vengeance on him."—*James Russell's Account of the Murder of Archbishop Sharpe*; KIRKTON, 418.



in a fruitless attempt to save him. When their bloody work was done, the murderers remounted their horses, and left her on the moor with the mutilated body of her father.<sup>1</sup>

Such was the murder of Archbishop Sharpe. It is recorded by Sheilds, who, we are told by Wodrow, was “a minister of extraordinary talents and usefulness, well seen in most branches of valuable learning; of a most quick and piercing wit, full of zeal and public spirit; of shining and solid piety; a successful, serious, and solid preacher, and useful minister in the Church, *moved with love to souls, and somewhat of the old apostolic spirit,*”<sup>2</sup> in the following words: “That truculent traitor, James Sharpe, the Archbishop, &c., received the just demerit of his perfidy, apostacy, sorceries, villanies, and murders—sharp arrows of the mighty and coals of juniper. For, upon the 3d of May 1679, *several worthy gentlemen, with some other men of courage and zeal for the cause of God and the good of the country, executed*

<sup>1</sup> See *State Trials*, x. 791; KIRKTON; *Sir Wm. Sharp's Let- WODROW; Russell's Narrative*, ter, KIRKTON, App.

<sup>2</sup> WODROW, iv. 233.

“ *righteous judgment upon him* in Magus Muir, “ near St Andrews.”<sup>1</sup> At the same time, Hackston of Rathillet is commemorated as a “ worthy gentleman who *suffered* at Edinburgh, “ on the 30th of July 1680,” one of a “ cloud “ of witnesses for the royal prerogatives of Jesus “ Christ ! ” Such is the language in which the fact that his infamous murderer was hanged is recorded by the historians of the Covenant ! Something of the same spirit seems still to survive. A recent historian of the Church of Scotland says, after giving an account of the Archbishop’s murder, “ It was such a deed as Greece “ celebrated with loudest praises in the case of “ Harmodius and Aristogiton, and Rome ex- “ tolled when done by Cassius and Brutus.”<sup>2</sup>

The skirmish at Drumclog, immortalised in *Old Mortality*, took place on the 1st of June 1679, within a month after the Archbishop’s murder. The insurgents were commanded by Robert Hamilton, a near connection and pupil of Bishop Burnett. Following the example of the Covenanters at Tippermuir, whose watchword was “ Jesus, and no quarter ! ” he gave, as he himself

<sup>1</sup> *Hind Let Loose.*

*the Church of Scotland*, 94, as to

<sup>2</sup> HETHERINGTON’S *History of Sharpe’s murder.*

informs us, strict orders that “no quarter should be given.”<sup>1</sup> These orders were, however, disobeyed during his absence, and five prisoners were spared. Hamilton, returning from the pursuit of Claverhouse, found his followers debating whether mercy should be shown to a sixth, when he put an end to the argument by slaughtering the unhappy prisoner in cold blood, with his own hand. Seven years afterwards we find him exulting in the act. “None could blame me,” he says, “*to decide the controversy, and I bless the Lord for it to this day!*” This was the man whom Lord Macaulay has truly designated as “the oracle of the extreme Covenanters,” and justly denounced as a “*bloodthirsty ruffian*.” That his conduct met with the sympathy and approval of his followers, is shown by the fact that we find him still in command of the insurgent forces under the title of *General* Hamilton, at the battle of Bothwell Brig, in conjunction with Hackston of Rathillet, the murderer of the Archbishop. The banner which floated over their heads is still in existence,<sup>2</sup> and, after the desecrated motto, “For Christ and His Truths!” bears, in blood-red letters, the words,

<sup>1</sup> HAMILTON'S *Letter to the Sec-taries*—Dec. 7, 1685.

<sup>2</sup> NAP., *Memoirs of Dundee*, 228.

“No Quarter for the Active Enemies of the Covenantant.” Reckoning upon certain victory, these champions of the Prince of Peace had erected upon the battle-field a high gallows, and prepared a cart-load of new ropes, in order that there might be no more such “steppings aside” as had occurred when the five prisoners were spared at Drumclog.<sup>1</sup> It is somewhat inconsistent with the supposed ferocity of the commanders of the royalist troops that these preparations were not turned against the insurgents upon their defeat.<sup>2</sup>

Such were the leaders of the Covenanters—men of rank, station, and education. As may well be supposed, their example was not thrown away upon their more humble and ignorant followers. Of the numberless outrages committed by them, we will select one only, and narrate the facts as they came from the mouths of the perpetrators of the crime.

Peter Peirson, the curate of Carsphairn, was

<sup>1</sup> The mercy shown to the five prisoners at Drumclog was a continual source of self-reproach to the Covenanters, who lamented that, “so they had brought themselves under that curse, “of doing the work of the Lord “deceitfully, by withholding

“the sword from shedding of “their blood.”—See the “Brief “Rehearsal of our Defections,” by the famous Mr Walter Smith, who got the crown of martyrdom, July 27, 1681.—*Bio. Pres.*, vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> CRIGHTON'S *Memoirs*.

a bold and determined man, and had the courage to reside alone, without even a servant, in the solitary manse belonging to that parish. His offence consisted in being suspected of favouring "Popery, Papists, and purgatory," and in having been heard to declare that "he feared none of the Whigs, nor anything else, but rats and mice." On this provocation, James M'Michael and three others, one night in the middle of November 1684, went to the manse, knocked at the door, and upon its being opened by Mr Peirson, immediately shot him dead on his own threshold.<sup>1</sup>

Instances of the most cold-blooded murder might be multiplied by hundreds.<sup>2</sup> But we must now consider the second question, and inquire, what were the circumstances, and what the conduct, of Claverhouse in the particular case of John Brown. Lord Macaulay's assertion that he was sentenced to death because he was

<sup>1</sup> WODROW, vol. ii. p. 467.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Walter Scott, writing to Southey, says: "I admit that he [Claverhouse] was *tant soit peu* savage, but he was a noble savage; and the beastly Covenanters against whom he acted hardly had any claim to be called men, unless what

"was founded upon their walking upon their hind feet. You can hardly conceive the perfidy, cruelty, and stupidity of these people, according to the accounts they have themselves preserved."—SCOTT to SOUTHEY, *Lockart's Life of Scott*, vol. ii. p. 135.

“convicted of nonconformity” is pure invention. Neither Wodrow nor Walker assign any cause; the former, indeed, expressly says, “Whether he [Claverhouse] had got any information of John’s “piety and nonconformity, *I cannot tell*,” and we shall presently see that Lord Macaulay might just as truly have said that John Thurtel was hanged for reading *Bell’s Life in London*.

John Brown was a “fugitated rebel.” His name appears a year before in a list appended to a proclamation of those who had been cited as rebels in arms, or rather of rebels who had not appeared.<sup>1</sup> Sir Walter Scott says, with perfect truth, “While we read this dismal story, “we must remember Brown’s situation was that “of *an avowed and determined rebel, liable as such to military execution*.” What then does Lord Macaulay mean by asserting that “he was blameless in life, and so peaceable that the tyrants could find no offence in him, except that “he absented himself from the public worship of “the Episcopalians”? That he was blameless and peaceable in the eyes of those who regarded Hackston of Rathillet as “one of Sion’s precious

<sup>1</sup> WODROW, App., vol. ii. p. “*Muirkirk, John Brown of 110. The entry is as follows: “Priestfield, for Reset.”*



“mourners and faithful witnesses of Christ, a  
“valiant and much-honoured gentleman,” who  
shouted “Jesus, and no quarter!” at Tippermuir  
—who felt that they had forfeited the favour of  
God because they had abstained from “dashing  
“the brains of the brats of Babel against the  
“stones” at Drumclog—who fought under the  
“bluidy banner,” and prepared the gibbet and  
the new ropes at Bothwell Brig—we can readily  
understand. But that any historian should be  
found, in the middle of the nineteenth century,  
deliberately to adopt such a statement, we con-  
fess, fills us with surprise.

Yet such, unhappily, is the fact. Year after  
year, and edition after edition, Lord Macaulay  
has given the trash of Wodrow to the public,  
backed by his own high authority. It was in  
vain that Professor Aytoun laid before him the  
evidence which proved, in the most conclusive  
manner, that Wodrow was contradicted by con-  
temporary authorities—that even by his own  
party his *History* was denounced as a collection  
of “lies and groundless stories.” It was in vain  
that his attention was directed to the fact that  
Sir Walter Scott, though himself adopting a view  
by no means favourable of the character of Cla-

verhouse, rejected the story told by Wodrow, and adopted that told by Walker, and had distinctly pointed out the fact that John Brown was an avowed rebel, amenable to the law, such as it then was—that the assertion that he was “convicted of nonconformity,” and had “committed no offence except that he absented himself from the public worship of the Episcopalians,” was not only unsupported by any evidence whatever, but betrayed a want of knowledge of the state of Scotland at the time. Still the story of the Christian Carrier appeared over and over again without even a note or a hint from which the reader could surmise that its authenticity had ever been even questioned. It appeared as the chief evidence on which Lord Macaulay relied for painting Claverhouse with the features of a fiend, and bestowing upon him the nickname of “The Chief of Tophet!”

So the matter stood at the time of the appearance of the last edition of Lord Macaulay's *History*. Within the last year, however, a valuable addition has been made to the materials previously before the world for the history of that period of Scottish annals. The Queensberry

Papers, preserved among the archives of the Buccleuch family, have been examined, and amongst the extracts from those valuable documents which have been recently published by Mr Mark Napier, in his *Memoirs of Dundee*, is the original despatch which Claverhouse sent to the Duke of Queensberry, then the High Treasurer of Scotland and head of the Government, on the 3d of May 1685; giving an account of the execution of John Brown only two days after the event. One might almost fancy that the spirit of the hero had been awakened from its slumbers by the sound of the only voice whose slanders he deigned to answer :—

“ May it please your Grace,

“ On Friday last, among the hills betwixt  
“ Douglas and the Ploughlands, we pursued two  
“ fellows a great way through the mosses, and  
“ in the end seized them. They had no arms  
“ about them, and denied they had any. But  
“ *being asked if they would take the abjura-*  
“ *tion, the eldest of the two, called John*  
“ *Brown, refused it; nor would he swear not*  
“ *to rise in arms against the King, but said he*

“ *knew no king.* Upon which, and there being  
“ *found bullets and match in his house, and*  
“ *treasonable papers,* I caused shoot him dead ;  
“ which he suffered very unconcernedly. The  
“ other, a young fellow and his nephew, called  
“ John Brownen, offered to take the oath ; but  
“ would not swear that he had not been at New-  
“ mills in arms, at rescuing the prisoners. So I did  
“ not know what to do with him ; I was con-  
“ vinced that he was guilty, but saw not how to  
“ proceed against him. Wherefore, after he  
“ had said his prayers, and carabines presented  
“ to shoot him, I offered to him, that if he would  
“ make an ingenuous confession, and make a dis-  
“ covery that might be of any importance for the  
“ King’s service, I should delay putting him to  
“ death, and plead for him. Upon which he  
“ confessed that he was at that attack of New-  
“ mills, and that he had come straight to this  
“ house of his uncle’s on Sunday morning. In  
“ the time he was making this confession *the*  
“ *soldiers found out a house in the hill, under*  
“ *ground, that could hold a dozen of men, and*  
“ *there were swords and pistols in it ; and this*  
“ *fellow declared that they belonged to his*

“uncle, and that he had lurked in that place  
“ever since Bothwell, where he was in arms.  
“He confessed that he had a halbert, and told  
“who gave it him about a month ago, and we  
“have the fellow prisoner. . . . I have  
“acquitted myself when I have told your Grace  
“the case. He has been but a month or two  
“with his halbert; and if your Grace thinks  
“he deserves no mercy, justice will pass on  
“him: for I, having no commission of justi-  
“ciary myself, have delivered him up to the  
“Lieutenant-General, to be disposed of as he  
“pleases.

“I am, my Lord, your Grace’s most humble  
“servant,—J. GRAHAME.”<sup>1</sup>

It must not be supposed that the Abjuration Oath here referred to had anything whatever to do with the religious tenets of the person to whom it was administered. As misconception upon this point is not uncommon, and as that misconception may possibly have led to Lord Macaulay’s assertion that Brown was “con-  
“victed of nonconformity,” it may be well to

<sup>1</sup> NAPIER’S *Memoirs of Dundee*, 141.

examine what the Oath of Abjuration was, and to inquire into its history.

On the 28th of October 1684, a declaration was published by the Covenanters, and affixed very generally upon the church-doors and other public places, “disowning the authority of “Chas. Stuart, and all authority depending “upon him ;<sup>1</sup> declaring war against him and his “accomplices, such as lay out themselves to “promote his wicked and hellish designs”—denouncing all bloody counsellors, justiciaries, generals, captains, all in civil or military power, bloody militiamen, malicious troopers, soldiers, and dragoons, viperous and malicious bishops and curates, and all witnesses who should appear in any courts, as enemies to God, to be punished as such. This was met by the Government by a proclamation denouncing the penalty of death against all who should not renounce the declaration, and prescribing the following form of oath to be taken by all persons who should be required to do so by any lawful authority :—

“I, A. B., do hereby abhor, renounce, and “disown, in the presence of the Almighty God,

<sup>1</sup> WODROW, ii. App. 137.



“ the pretended declaration of war lately affixed  
“ at several parish churches, in so far as it de-  
“ clares a war against his sacred Majesty, and as-  
“ serts that it is lawful to kill such as serve his  
“ Majesty, in Church, State, army, or country.”<sup>1</sup>

This oath being taken, a certificate was to be delivered to the party taking it, which was to operate as a free pass and protection. Of the treasonable nature of the declaration it is impossible to entertain a doubt, and the refusal to take the Oath of Abjuration was, in fact, precisely equivalent to a plea of guilty to an indictment for high treason. The proceeding, it is true, was summary, and liable to abuse. The law was harsh ; but the country was in open rebellion ; and Claverhouse was no more censurable for carrying the laws into execution, than a judge would be who should sentence to death a person who pleaded guilty at the bar of the Old Bailey. Here, then, we arrive at last at the true history of John Brown, the Christian Carrier, the man represented by Lord Macaulay as of “ singular piety, versed in divine things, blame-

<sup>1</sup> WODROW, ii. App. 158. See James Renwick,” p. 68, *Bio.*  
also the “ Life and Death of Mr *Pres.*, vol. ii.

“less in life, and so peaceable that even the  
“tyrants could find no fault with him, except  
“that he absented himself from the public worship  
“of the Episcopalians.” His peaceableness was  
shown by his being in arms at Bothwell ; his  
piety by shouting, “No quarter for the enemies  
“of the Covenant!”—by rallying round the  
gibbet and the ropes prepared for the “bloody  
“militiamen and malignant troopers,” over whom  
the Lord would have given His chosen people an  
easy victory, but for their “stepping aside” in  
sparing the five “brats of Babel” at Drumclog  
—and by providing a secure hiding-place for  
men and arms, to be used for future slaughter.

Rebellion is a dangerous and desperate game,  
which, as has often been remarked, requires suc-  
cess to justify it.

The Christian Carrier played and lost. If he  
had won, he and his comrades would have hanged  
Claverhouse and his dragoons in cold blood, and  
gloried in the act ; and it is rather unfair to  
canonise him because he met a more merciful  
death at the hands of those for whom he had pre-  
pared a gibbet and a halter.

It may perhaps be urged that the despatch of

Claverhouse does not in terms negative the account given by Walker and Wodrow of the conversation between Claverhouse and the widow of John Brown. This is true ; but it appears highly improbable that Claverhouse should have detailed with so much particularity what took place, and have noticed the unconcerned manner in which Brown met his fate, and yet have omitted all notice of so remarkable a scene, if it had, in fact, taken place. It is impossible that he could have passed over without observation any symptoms of mutiny, or even of unwillingness to execute his orders, on the part of his troops. Here, then, is a distinct contradiction to the most important part of Wodrow's story ; and the total suppression by both Wodrow and Walker of all that relates to John Brownen, the nephew, to the discovery of the " bullets, match, and treasonable " papers " in the house of John Brown, and of the place of concealment and arms in the " house in " the hill, under ground," throws the greatest possible suspicion on the rest of both narratives. The simple account given by Claverhouse, therefore, disposes at once of the absurd story of the dragoons having refused to obey orders, and

renders the poetical and fanciful additions of both those very apocryphal writers, to say the least, highly improbable. The death of John Brown was simply a military execution. He might be sincere and honest—so was Thistlewood; he might be bold, and meet death unconcernedly—so did Brunt. John Brown was a fanatic of the same class. His courage was upheld by religious and political enthusiasm. He was one of thousands who, in those days, were equally prepared to commit the most savage atrocities, or to endure the most terrible extremities, secure, as they thought, of the approbation of the God of mercy, of the crown of martyrdom, and the joys of paradise.

Whether the oppressions of the Government justified the rebellion of the Covenanters, or whether the outrages committed by the Covenanters justified the severities of the Government, are matters which we are not now called upon to discuss. They in no degree affect the question as regards the character of Claverhouse. It would be as reasonable to hold Sir John Moore or Massena answerable for the justice and morality of their respective sides in the war of the

Peninsula, as to hold Claverhouse responsible for the policy of the Government he served.

We have bestowed so much space upon an examination of this particular charge, that we have none left to follow Claverhouse through his gallant career to its brilliant close. We must content ourselves with one or two instances of his conduct during his command in the west which seem to us wholly to disprove the view of his character taken by Lord Macaulay, and to remove the dark stains which Sir Walter Scott supposed to have existed.

In the early part of the year 1679, Claverhouse was stationed at Dumfries. Not Wellington himself could be more sedulous in suppressing outrage and maintaining discipline amongst his troops than we find this "chief of Tophet" to have been.

On the 6th of January he thus writes to the commander-in-chief :—

"On Saturday night when I came back here,  
"the sergeant who commands the dragoons in  
"the castle came to me ; and while he was here,  
"they came and told me there was a horse killed  
"just by upon the street, by a shot from the

“ castle. I went immediately and examined the  
“ guard, who denied point-blank that there had  
“ been any shot from thence. I went and heard  
“ the bailie take depositions of men that were  
“ looking on, who declared upon oath that they  
“ saw the shot from the guard-hall, and the  
“ horse immediately fall. I caused also search  
“ for the bullet in the horse’s head, which was  
“ found to be of their calibre. After that I  
“ found it so clear, I caused seize upon him who  
“ was ordered by the sergeant in his absence to  
“ command the guard, and keep him prisoner till  
“ he find out the man, which I suppose will be  
“ found himself. His name is James Ramsay, an  
“ Angus man, who has formerly been a lieutenant  
“ of horse, as I am informed. It is an ugly busi-  
“ ness ; for, besides the wrong the poor man has  
“ got in losing his horse, it is extremely against  
“ military discipline to fire out of a guard. *I have*  
“ *appointed the poor man to be here to-mor-*  
“ *row, and bring with him some neighbours to*  
“ *declare the worth of the horse ; and have as-*  
“ *sured him to satisfy him, if the captain, who*  
“ *is to be here also to-morrow, refuse to do it.*”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> NAPIER’S *Memoirs of Dundee*.



Again, he hears complaints that, before his command had commenced, some of the dragoons had taken free quarters in the neighbourhood of Moffat; this, he remarks, was no charge against him, as the facts had occurred before he came into that part of the country, but he immediately institutes an inquiry. "I begged them," he says, "to forbear till the captain and I should come there, *when they should be redressed in every-thing*. Your lordship will be pleased not to take any notice of this till I have informed myself upon the place."<sup>1</sup> It is a curious illustration of the perversion of language and of diversity of character, that at the very time when that "worthy gentleman," Hackston of Rathillet, inspired by "zeal for the cause of God," was butchering the Archbishop on Magus Muir, "Bloody Claver'se" was delaying the march of his prisoners in consideration of the illness of one of them, a conventicle preacher of the name of Irwin. He thus writes to the commander-in-chief on the 21st April 1679: "I was going to have sent in the other prisoners, but amongst them there is one Mr Francis Irwin, an old

<sup>1</sup> NAPIER, 122.

“infirm man, who is extremely troubled with the  
“gravel, so that I will be forced to delay for five  
“or six days.” He again apologises for the delay, on the same ground, on the 6th of May, three days after the murder of the Archbishop. This man, so considerate of the sufferings of his prisoners, Lord Macaulay would fain have his readers believe to have been a “chief of Tophet, “of violent temper, and of *obdurate heart*.” The kindness of his disposition breaks out repeatedly in his correspondence. With the murder of Magus Muir, the slaughter of Drumclog, and the high gallows and new ropes of Bothwell fresh in his memory, he can yet write,—“I am  
“as sorry to see a man die, even a Whig, as any  
“of themselves ; but when one dies justly, and  
“for his own faults, and may *save a hundred*  
“*to fall in the like, I have no scruple.*”

Again, in 1682, he writes—

“The first thing I mind to do, is to fall to  
“work with all that have been in the rebellion,  
“or accessory thereto by giving men, money, or  
“arms ; and next, res setters ; and after that, field  
“conventicles. For what remains of the laws  
“against the fanatics, *I will threaten much, but*

“*forbear severe execution* for a while ; for fear  
“ people should grow desperate, and increase too  
“ much the number of our enemies.”

On the 1st of March 1682, commenting upon what was occurring in other parts of the country, he says :—

“ The way that I see taken in other places is  
“ to put laws severely against great and small in  
“ execution, which is very just ; *but what effects*  
“ *does that produce but to exasperate and*  
“ *alienate the hearts of the whole people ?* For  
“ it renders three desperate where it gains one ;  
“ and your lordship knows that in the greatest  
“ crimes *it is thought wisest to pardon the mul-*  
“ *titude and punish the ringleaders*, where the  
“ number of the guilty is great, as in this case of  
“ whole countries. Wherefore I have taken an-  
“ other course here.”<sup>1</sup>

Writing at the end of the same year, and giving an account of his stewardship to the Privy Council, he thus reports the success of his just and merciful experiment :—

“ It may now be said that Galloway is not  
“ only as peaceable but as regular as any part of

<sup>1</sup> NAPIER, 130.

“ the country on this side Tay. And the rebels  
“ are reduced *without blood*, and the country  
“ brought to obedience and conformity to the  
“ Church government *without severity or extor-*  
“ *tion* ; few heritors being fined, and that but  
“ gently, and under that none is or are to be  
“ fined but two or three in a parish ; and the  
“ authority of the Church is restored in that  
“ country, and the ministers in safety. If there  
“ were bonds once taken of them for regularity  
“ hereafter, and some few were put in garrison,  
“ which may all be done in a few months, that  
“ country may be secure a long time both to  
“ King and Church.”<sup>1</sup>

The biographer of Locheil has a passage which it would have been well if Lord Macaulay had considered before hazarding the charge of profanity against Claverhouse. Speaking of the high sense of honour and fidelity to his word by which Dundee was distinguished, he says—

“ That it proceeded from a principle of religion, whereof he was strictly observant ; for  
“ besides family worship, performed regularly  
“ evening and morning in his house, he retired

<sup>1</sup> NAPIER, 136.

“ to his closet at certain hours, and employed  
 “ himself in that duty. This I affirm upon the  
 “ testimony of several that lived in his neigh-  
 “ bourhood in Edinburgh, where his office of  
 “ privy councillor often obliged him to be ; and  
 “ particularly from a Presbyterian lady, who  
 “ lived long in the story or house immediately  
 “ below his lordship’s, and who was otherways  
 “ so rigid in her opinions, that she could not be-  
 “ lieve a good thing of any person of his persua-  
 “ sion till his conduct rectified her mistake. . . .  
 “ His lordship continued the same course in the  
 “ army ; and though somewhat warm upon occa-  
 “ sions in his temper, yet he never was heard to  
 “ swear.”<sup>1</sup>

The same writer thus sums up the character of Dundee :—

“ He seemed formed by Heaven for great  
 “ undertakings, and was, in an eminent degree,  
 “ possessed of all those qualities that accomplish  
 “ the gentleman, the statesman, and the soldier.

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Lochiel*, 278, 279. oaths of Westerraw, Lagg, and  
 It is a remarkable confirmation others, with peculiar *gusto*,  
 of this somewhat peculiar cha- never, as far as we have ob-  
 racteristic of Claverhouse, that served, attributes such expres-  
 Crookshank, who records the sions to Claverhouse.

“ . . . He was, in his private life, rather parsimonious than profuse, and observed an exact economy in his family. But in the King’s service he was liberal and generous to every person but himself, and freely bestowed his own money in buying provisions to his army : and to sum up his character in two words, *he was a good Christian, an indulgent husband, an accomplished gentleman, an honest statesman, and a brave soldier.*”<sup>1</sup>

Such is the portrait of Dundee, painted by the grandson and biographer of the heroic Cameron of Lochiel, a writer cotemporary with Wodrow,<sup>2</sup> and to whom Lord Macaulay makes frequent reference. How happens it that he has overlooked the testimony of what he himself justly calls these “ singularly interesting memoirs ? ”<sup>3</sup>

We are compelled, by want of further space, to terminate our remarks. We quit the subject with regret. The character of Dundee is one over which we would fain linger.

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Lochiel*, 273-279. time before 1737. The exact

<sup>2</sup> Wodrow’s *History* was published in 1722. The *Memoirs* of *Lochiel* were written some

date cannot be ascertained. See Preface, p. xlix.

<sup>3</sup> MAC., iii. 321.



In days notorious for profligacy there was no stain on his domestic morality—in an age infamous for the almost universal treachery of its public men, his fidelity was pure and inviolate. His worst enemies have never denied him the possession of the most undaunted courage and military genius of the highest order. He was generous, brave, and gentle,—a cavalier “sans peur et sans reproche ;” and as long as the summer sun shall pour his evening ray through the dancing birch-trees and thick copsewood down to those dark pools where the clear brown waters of the Garry whirl in deep eddies round the footstool of Ben Vrackie, so long will every noble heart swell at the recollection of him whose spirit fled, with his fading beam, as he set on the last victory of “Ian dhu nan Cath,”—of him who died the death which the God of Battles reserves for His best and most favoured sons, alike on sea or mountain, on the blue wave of Trafalgar or the purple heather of Killiecrankie.

V.

LORD MACAULAY AND WILLIAM PENN.

“ RIVAL nations and hostile sects have agreed in  
“ canonising him—England is proud of his name.  
“ A great commonwealth beyond the Atlantic  
“ regards him with a reverence similar to that  
“ which the Athenians felt for Theseus, and the  
“ Romans for Quirinus. The respectable society  
“ of which he was a member honours him as an  
“ apostle. By pious men of other persuasions  
“ he is generally regarded as a bright pattern  
“ of Christian virtue. Meanwhile admirers of a  
“ very different sort have sounded his praises.  
“ The French philosophers of the eighteenth  
“ century pardoned what they regarded as his  
“ superstitious fancies, in consideration of his  
“ contempt for priests, and of his cosmopolitan  
“ benevolence, impartially extended to all races

“ and all creeds. His name has thus become, “ throughout all civilised countries, a synonyme “ for probity and philanthropy.”

Such is the verdict of posterity upon the character of William Penn, recorded in the glowing words of Lord Macaulay.<sup>1</sup> Such is the judgment which Lord Macaulay seeks to reverse ;—to show instead that this same William Penn prostituted himself to the meanest wishes of a cruel, and profligate court<sup>2</sup>—gloated with delight on the horrors of the scaffold and the stake<sup>3</sup>—was the willing tool of a bloodthirsty and treacherous tyrant<sup>4</sup>—a trafficker in simony and suborner of perjury<sup>5</sup>—a conspirator, seeking to deluge his country in blood<sup>6</sup>—a sycophant, a traitor,<sup>7</sup> and a liar.<sup>8</sup>

Such are the charges scattered through Lord Macaulay's pages ; and in support of them he relies on the part taken by Penn on the following occasions :—

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 506.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 656.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i. p. 665.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. ii. p. 230.

<sup>5</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 298, 299.

<sup>6</sup> Vol. iv. pp. 20, 31.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. iii. p. 587.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. iii. p. 599.

- I. His conduct with regard to the Maids of Taunton.—Vol. i. p. 655.
- II. His presence at the executions of Cornish and of Gaunt.—Vol. i. p. 665.
- III. His conduct in the affair of Kiffin.—Vol. ii. p. 230.
- IV. The transactions relating to Magdalen College.—Vol. ii. p. 298.
- V. His supposed communication with James II. whilst in Ireland.—Vol. iii. p. 587.
- VI. His alleged falsehood in a supposed interview with William III.—Vol. iii. p. 599.
- VII. His alleged share in Preston's plot.—Vol. iv. p. 20.
- VIII. His interview with Sidney.—Vol. iv. p. 30.
- IX. His alleged communications with James whilst the latter was at St Germain.—Vol. iv. p. 31.

I purpose to examine the evidence relating to each of these charges, confining myself as much as possible to original and unquestionable documents, and indicating in every case the evidence on which I rely, and the most easy

mode in which the reader, if so disposed, may verify my statements if true, or detect their inaccuracy if I have fallen into error. On most points the evidence is abundant and easily to be obtained. Lord Macaulay calls Penn "rather " a mythical than an historical person." <sup>1</sup> Never was a less appropriate epithet. Penn lived much in public. During his whole life he was in contest with some one or other. His birth, education, and position, were such as to expose him to constant observation. He was a prolific writer—a copious correspondent. The personal friend of Algernon Sidney, John Locke, and Archbishop Tillotson—of King James the Second, and of George Fox—probably no man ever lived who was the connecting link between men so diverse and so hostile. A courtier, a scholar, and a soldier, he resigned every worldly advantage, and left the gayest court in Europe to take up his cross amongst the humblest and most peaceful of the followers of his Redeemer. Such a man was certain to be the object of calumny in his own day ; and, accordingly, we find that there was hardly an act of Penn's life which was

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 506.

not the subject of hostile comment. To speak of him as a "mythical rather than an historical person," is therefore simply absurd.

# I.

THE First in order on the black list of Lord Macaulay's charges, relates to the conduct of William Penn with regard to the "Maids of Taunton."

Upon the entry of Monmouth into that town, and on the occasion of his declaring himself heir to the throne, proclaiming himself King, setting a price on the head of the reigning monarch, and denouncing the Parliament then sitting as an unlawful assembly,<sup>1</sup> he was received by a procession of the daughters of the principal inhabitants of the place, headed by their schoolmistress, bearing the emblems of royalty, who presented him with standards worked by their own hands.<sup>2</sup> That every person concerned in this proceeding incurred thereby the penalties of high treason, there

<sup>1</sup> MACAULAY, i. 588.

TOULMIN'S *Hist. of Taunton*,

<sup>2</sup> MACAULAY, i. p. 584-586; 4to, 1791, p. 136.



can be no doubt. But it does not appear ever to have been contemplated by James, or even by Jeffreys, to enforce the rigour of the law against girls, some of whom were not more than ten years of age. In those days, however, mercy was not given, but sold. A pardon for the prisoner who had been tried in the morning, is said to have been tossed by the judge who condemned him to the companion of his evening debauch, who the next day made the best bargain he could with the culprit or his friends.<sup>1</sup> From the highest to the lowest the infamous traffic prevailed. The Court and the Bench shared in the corruption, and, as might be expected, a swarm of inferior agents and dealers in iniquity sprang up. The names of some of these have been preserved, and appear in the registers of the Privy Council, in the Secret Service Book of Charles and James the Second, and in the records of those families whose members were the victims of their rapacity. Robert Brent occupies the most prominent place. His name occurs repeatedly. After the revolution, a proclamation was issued for his apprehension.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MACAULAY, i. 653.

<sup>2</sup> *Pri. Co. Reg.* 27 Feb. 1688.

After Brent comes George Penne, whose name has been preserved in consequence of his having been employed to negotiate the pardon of Azariah Pinney, a member of a Somersetshire family who had been involved in Monmouth's rebellion.<sup>1</sup>

George Penne's infamous trade appears not to have prospered. Probably his business became less lucrative when the wholesale slaughter consequent on the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion ceased. We find him some time afterwards an applicant to the Crown for the grant of a patent office for the establishment of a lottery and licensing gaming-tables in America.

His petition for this purpose was presented to the Privy Council during the time when Sunderland was President ; and Sunderland attended

<sup>1</sup> "BRISTOL, *September* 1685. Rector of Norton-sub-Hamden, near Yeovil. Azariah Pinney was sentenced to death and pardoned, and "given to Jerome "money p<sup>d</sup> Geo. Penne, Esquire, "for the ransom of my Bror Aza. "August 1685. £65." Entry "Nipho, Esquire." His destination was the island of Nevis, but he was redeemed, and Mr Nipho received through George Penne the sum of £65 as his ransom.—See ROBERTS'S *Life of Monmouth*, ii. 243.

in the cash - book preserved at Somerton Erlegh House, cited in Dixon's *Life of Penn.* Edit. 1851, p. 445. Ed. 1856, xix. Azariah Pinney of Battiscomb was a son of the Reverend John Pinney of Broad Windsor,

in person the meeting at which it was discussed.<sup>1</sup> It is not stated whether he was successful in his application ; but he disappears from history, and his name would probably have been utterly forgotten by this time had it not been preserved to be the occasion of an unfortunate mistake, consequent upon its similarity to that borne by the celebrated founder of Pennsylvania. But for this, George Penne would have shared the fate of the obscure crowd of his fellow-workers in iniquity who have passed into utter oblivion.

When it had been resolved that the lives of the " Maids of Taunton " (as these school children have been called) should be spared, the King "gave their fines to the Maids of Honour."<sup>2</sup> In other words, he permitted the Maids of Honour to extort as much money from the fears and affections of the parents and relations of these unhappy children as they could.

The Maids of Honour applied to the Duke of Somerset (the Lord-Lieutenant of the county), and he had recourse to Sir Francis Warre,

<sup>1</sup> *Pri. Co. Reg. J. R.* 540.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of SUNDERLAND, *post*,  
p. 12.

colonel of the Taunton Regiment, who had repeatedly sat in parliament for that town, and who then resided at Hestercombe, in the immediate neighbourhood. To him the Duke addressed the following letter :—

“I do here send you a list of the Taunton  
 “ Maydes. You living soe near to Taunton  
 “ makes me think that you know some of them,  
 “ therefore pray send me word by the first opor-  
 “ tunity whether any of these are in custody, and  
 “ whoe they are ; and if any one of these are  
 “ not in custody, lett them be secured, especially  
 “ the schoolemistress, and likewise send me word  
 “ if you know any one of these, because there  
 “ are some friends of mine that I believe upon  
 “ easy termes might get theire pardon of the  
 “ King. Pray send me an answer by the first  
 “ opportunity, and in so doing this you will  
 “ oblige your humble servant,—SOMERSET.<sup>1</sup>

“ LONDON, *Dec.* 12, 1685.”

Sir Francis Warre’s reply has not been preserved ; but it would seem that, between the date

<sup>1</sup> TOULMIN’S *Hist. of Taunton*, p. 163, 4to, 1791.

of this letter—viz. 12th of December 1685—and the end of the year, some person of the name of Birde,<sup>1</sup> who is stated by Lord Macaulay to have been town-clerk of Bridgewater,<sup>2</sup> had interfered in the transaction ; for, on the 14th of January 1685-6, the Duke of Somerset again writes as follows :—

“I have acquainted the Maydes of Honour  
 “ with this buiseness of Mr Birde, and they do  
 “ all say that he never had any authority from  
 “ them to proceede in this matter, and that they  
 “ have this post writ to him not to trouble him-  
 “ self any more in this affaire, soe that if you  
 “ will proceede on this matter according to my  
 “ former letter, you will infinitely oblige your  
 “ humble servant,—SOMERSET.

“ *Jan. 14, 1685.*

“ If you can secure any of them, pray doe,  
 “ and let me have account of this letter as soon  
 “ as you can.

“ For Sir Francis Warre, Bart. To be left at the  
 “ posthouse in Taunton, Somersets.”

<sup>1</sup> MAC. Edit. 1858, ii. 239  
 note.

<sup>2</sup> *Query*—of Taunton? See  
 TOULMIN, *Hist. of Taunton*, 163.

The next letter that has been preserved is also from the Duke of Somerset to Sir Francis Warre, and is dated within a week of the one last quoted.

“ We have here thought fitt that things would  
 “ be better managed if there was a letter of At-  
 “ turney given to somebody (that you should  
 “ think fit and capable of) for to ayde and assist  
 “ you in it, that there may be noe other to trans-  
 “ act this businesse but yourselfe, and another  
 “ of your recommending, that should bussle and  
 “ stir about to ease you. If that you know of  
 “ any such man that you can trust, pray let me  
 “ know it by the first oportunity, that the Maydes  
 “ of Honour may signe his letter of Atturney.  
 “ Pray let them know that if they doe thus put  
 “ it off from time to time that the Maydes of  
 “ Honour are resolved to sue them to an Out-  
 “ lawry, so that pray do you advise them to  
 “ comply with what is reasonable (which I think  
 “ 7000 is) for them.

“ I must beg a thousand times over your  
 “ pardone for giving you this trouble, and will  
 “ never omit anything wherein I can serve you,



"Sir. I am, your very humble servant,—  
"SOMERSET.

"LONDON, *Jan.* 21, 1685-6.

"For Sir Francisse Warre, Bart : To be left at the post-  
"house in Taunton, Somerssetts."

Immediately after this suggestion, that Sir Francis Warre should name some subordinate agent to "bustle and stir about," and that the Maids of Honour should send a letter of attorney for that purpose, comes the following letter from the Earl of Sunderland, of which a copy is preserved amongst a very miscellaneous collection, entitled "Domestic—Various," in the State-Paper Office :—

"WHITEHALL, *Feb.* 13, 1685-6.

"MR PENNE,—Her Majesty's Maids of Honour having acquainted me that they design to employ you and Mr Walden in making a composition with the relations of the Maids of Taunton for the high misdemeanour they have been guilty of, I do, at their request, hereby let you know, that His Majesty has been pleased to give their fines to the said Maids of

“ Honour, and therefore recommend it to Mr  
 “ Walden and you to make the most advantage-  
 “ ous composition you can in their behalfe.—I  
 “ am, Sir, your humble servant,—SUNDERLAND.”

Here ends the whole of what can properly be called *evidence* upon the subject. We shall presently have to examine the accounts given by different Historians of the transaction,—to consider what reliance is to be placed on the narratives of some, and what inferences are fairly to be drawn from the silence of others. But here, resting upon this affirmative testimony alone, it may fairly be asked, Can any reasonable doubt exist that the Mr Penne to whom the letter of Sunderland is addressed was the same George Penne who, at the same time and in the same county, was employed in negotiating a similar transaction in the case of Azariah Pinney?

Lord Macaulay,<sup>1</sup> however, declares his conviction, unaltered and unalterable, that this curt missive of Sunderland, though addressed to “ Mr Penne ”—though written immediately upon the

<sup>1</sup> MAC. edit. 1858, ii. 236, note.

suggestion that "somebody" should be named, to "bustle and stir about," and to "ease and assist" Sir Francis Warre, to whom the Duke of Somerset was so profuse in his apologies for "the trouble he gave him"—though "George Penne" was exactly such a person, and was engaged at this very time upon precisely similar business in the same county, and therefore most likely to be known both to Warre and Somerset,—and although no allusion to any other person of the name of "Penne" or "Penn," except George Penne, is to be found in the transaction—yet that this letter was addressed, not to him, but to William Penn, the Lord Proprietor of the province of Pennsylvania, the friend of Algernon Sidney and John Locke, the ward and intimate associate of the King—with whom James was in the habit of conferring for hours, whilst the first nobles of the kingdom were kept waiting in the ante-chamber<sup>1</sup>—whose house was crowded by hundreds of suitors<sup>2</sup>—who occupied at that moment a social position far higher than that of Sir Francis Warre—with whom Sunderland had been intimate from boyhood—whose associate

<sup>1</sup> MAC. edit. 1858, ii. 82, note.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

and companion he had been at college—and with whom he must at this very time have been in almost daily intercourse.

It may be asked, Upon what evidence does Lord Macaulay ground this supposition? The answer is, Simply upon none. It is fair, however, to state that he is not the originator of the calumny; and before discussing the reasons which in his opinion justify him in repeating and giving it currency and authority, it will be well to trace the origin of the charge. We have seen the whole of the evidence—we now come to the history.

No cotemporary historian that I have been able to discover mentions either William Penn or George Penne as having had anything whatever to do with the transaction.

Oldmixon asserts that Brent and a person of the name of Crane were employed.<sup>1</sup> Ralph says

<sup>1</sup> "This money" [*i. e.* the sums paid for the pardons], "and a great deal more, was said to be for the Maids of Honour; whose agent Brent, the Popish lawyer, had an under-agent, one Crane of Bridgewater, and 'tis supposed that both of them paid themselves very bountifully out of the money which was raised by this means; some instances of which are within my knowledge."—OLDMIXON, vol. ii. p. 708. Lord Macaulay says that Oldmixon is, of all our historians, "the least

that the Maids of Honour "sent down an agent," but does not say who that agent was.<sup>1</sup>

Other cotemporary historians are silent. The only inference to be drawn from them, therefore, is derived from the extreme improbability that they would have been silent if a man so eminent

"trustworthy;" that he "asserts nothing positively;" that he "goes no further than 'it was 'said,' and 'it was reported,''" and that even "his most positive assertion" would in this case be of "no value." Lord Macaulay seems to have overlooked the statement which Oldmixon makes that some of the instances were within his own knowledge. One thing is certain, namely, that had Oldmixon ever heard that William Penn had any share in the transaction, he would have recorded it with exultation. Lord Macaulay appears also to have forgotten that he had himself cited Oldmixon no less than seventeen times as an authority for his narrative of the events connected with Monmouth's insurrection—that he had three times drawn attention to the fact, that "Oldmixon, when a boy, lived near the scene of these events"—that he was,

probably, an eyewitness of some of them, and that he passed a great part of his life at Bridgewater. That such was the confidence to be placed in him, that his silence on the subject was sufficient to negative the truth of a well-known and horrible anecdote popularly believed of the monster Kirke. Such is the mode in which the authority of Oldmixon is treated by Lord Macaulay, when Kirke, who added to, or, as Lord Macaulay appears to think, atoned for, his enormities by treachery to the master in whose service he had committed them, is to be vindicated.—When Penn is to be traduced Oldmixon becomes the "least trustworthy" of "all our historians," and his most positive assertion of no value!—Vol. i. pp. 581, 604, 613, 636, edit. 1849. Vol. iii. p. 226, 1855. Vol. iii. pp. 244, 256, edition 1858.

<sup>1</sup> RALPH, vol. i. p. 893.

and so obnoxious to many of them as William Penn had been concerned in the transaction. That they should pass over, or be entirely ignorant of, the doings of the obscure George Penne, is by no means unlikely. Sir Francis Warre's part of the correspondence with the Duke of Somerset has, unfortunately, been lost ; but it will be observed that there is nothing in the Duke's letters from which it can be inferred that Sir Francis Warre was reluctant to be employed, or considered such employment in any way disgraceful. With the lapse of time, however, the matter came to be regarded from a very different point of view ; and when Dr Toulmin applied, at the close of the last century, to the descendant of Sir Francis Warre, who supplied him with the letters from the Duke to his ancestor, he was informed that " Sir Francis Warre, unwilling to be concerned " in the business, represented to the Duke that " the schoolmistress was a woman of mean birth, " and that the scholars worked the banner by " her orders, without knowing of any offence. " On this, further proceedings were dropped, but " not until the sums of £100 and £50 had



“been gained from the parents of some of  
“them.”<sup>1</sup>

By the time that Dr Toulmin wrote his history,<sup>2</sup> the transaction had come to be considered as by no means reputable ; and we need not be surprised that the family tradition should be that Sir Francis Warre was unwilling to be concerned in it ; but had he handed it over to a man so eminent as William Penn, it can hardly be supposed that so important a fact could have been forgotten ; yet we find no trace of it.

We now come to the origin of the calumny.

Nearly one hundred and fifty years after the events had taken place, Sir James Mackintosh happened to meet with the letter from Sunderland to Penne which has been already quoted. He appears not to have accurately examined the previous correspondence between Somerset and Warre, and he was certainly in ignorance of the existence of any such person as George Penne. With unfortunate haste, he jumped to the conclusion that the person to whom this letter was addressed must have been William Penn ;

<sup>1</sup> TOULMIN'S *History of Taun-*  
*ton*, 8vo, p. 533 ; 4to, 1791, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> Published 1791.

and even in citing the letter, he commits the mistake of stating that it was addressed to *William Penn*,—the fact being that no Christian name at all is used in the original, and that it is addressed, not to William Penn, but to Mr Penne.<sup>1</sup>

The passage in Mackintosh is as follows :—  
 “ It must be added with regret that William  
 “ Penn, sacrificing other objects to the hope of  
 “ obtaining the toleration of his religion from the  
 “ King’s favour, was appointed an agent for the  
 “ Maids of Honour, and submitted to receive in-  
 “ structions to make the most advantageous com-  
 “ position he could in their behalf.”<sup>2</sup> The con-  
 tinuer of Mackintosh adopts the statement, and  
 adds, that Penn went down to Taunton;<sup>3</sup> in sup-  
 port of which assertion he cites Ralph, who, as  
 we have seen, never mentions Penn in the matter,  
 but says that the Maids of Honour sent down  
 “ an agent.” That Lord Macaulay should, in

<sup>1</sup> Sir James Mackintosh cites and trusted to some careless transcriber.  
 it thus :—“ Lord Sunderland to

“ William Penn, 13th Feb. 1686.      <sup>2</sup> MACK. p. 32. 4to.

“ State-Paper Office.” Probably      <sup>3</sup> WALLACE’S Continuation of  
 he did not examine the original, Mackintosh, vol. viii. p. 42.

the first instance, have followed Mackintosh without inquiry, should hardly excite surprise ; but after having had his attention drawn to the evidence, which was not in the possession of Mackintosh, and the origin of the mistake pointed out,<sup>1</sup> he declares his determination to adhere to his original statement, and justifies that determination at great length in a note to the edition of his History recently published,<sup>2</sup> upon the following grounds :—

*First*, That Sir James Mackintosh had no doubt about the matter.<sup>3</sup>

The authority of Sir James Mackintosh is unquestionably high. But Sir James Mackintosh would have been the first to admit the possibility that he might be led into error by deficient information or by the mistake of a transcriber, and the first to correct that error. Lord Macaulay is put into possession of the evidence which Sir James Mackintosh had not, and the mistake of the transcriber is pointed out. Sir James Mackintosh is dead, and cannot correct the error ; Lord

<sup>1</sup> DIXON'S *Life of Penn*, Supplementary Chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Edit. 1858, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> MAC., edit. 1858, ii. 236, note.

Macaulay is living, and will not.<sup>1</sup> The argument derived from the authority of Sir James Mackintosh, under these circumstances, must go for as much as it is worth.

*Secondly*, That the names "Penn" and "Penne" are the same. Lord Macaulay admits that both William Penn and his father the Admiral *invariably* spelt the name Penn, but urges that other people sometimes spelt it Pen and Penne : that Hide is sometimes Hyde ; Jeffries, Jefferies, Jeffereys, and Jeffreys : that Somers is Sommers, and Summers ; Wright is Wrighte ; and Cowper, Cooper.

The letter of Sunderland is addressed to "Mr "Penne ;" and every one except Lord Macaulay

<sup>1</sup> Yet there are cases in which Lord Macaulay has shown more candour and a juster spirit. In the first edition, vol. i. p. 561, describing the execution of Argyll, he says, "the troops who attended the procession were put "under the command of Claverhouse, the fiercest and stoutest "of the race of Graham." Thus it stood in five editions. Mr Aytoun pointed out the error,\* and in 1858 Lord Macaulay admits

that he had confused the Town Guard with the dragoons of Dundee, and Graham their captain with Graham of Claverhouse. Edit. of 1858, ii. 139. When Lord Macaulay penned this correction, did his conscience recall to him the bitter scorn with which he once held up a brother-essayist to contempt for referring to the axe instead of the halter, as the instrument by which Montrose met his death ?

\* Lays of the Cavaliers, Appendix, 348.

will allow that, *primâ facie*, a letter is intended for the person whose name is correctly given on its address, and not for a person whose name is not correctly given.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that, in the great majority of cases, Lord Macaulay's argument is correct, and that much reliance ought not to be placed on this fact if it stood alone. There are, however, peculiar circumstances attending the case. In the very same books in the State-Paper and Privy Council Offices in which the name of George Penne occurs, the name of William Penn also occurs repeatedly ; and there is not a single instance in which it is spelt otherwise than Penn. It is admitted by Lord Macaulay that William Penn and his father the Admiral *invariably* spelt the name Penn. Is it likely that Sunderland, who had known and been intimate with William Penn from his boyhood, who must have been in constant intercourse with him at this very time, should have deviated from this well-known orthography in this single instance ?

If there ever was a case in which reliance should be placed on such a fact, surely it is this.

*Thirdly*, Lord Macaulay urges that it is improbable that the Maids of Honour would have employed such an agent as George Penne ; that Sir Francis Warre was a man of high rank and consideration, and therefore it is unlikely that so low a fellow as George Penne should be employed in the transaction.

It is exactly because he was a low fellow that he was employed. He was the agent to "bustle and "stir about"<sup>1</sup> amongst the relatives of the girls, and wring the uttermost farthing from them. If an agent had been required to communicate with the King, and to obtain their pardon, William Penn might possibly have been applied to ; but this had been already done. The pardon was obtained, and all that remained was to make the best bargain with the relatives of the children. For this George Penne, not William Penn, was the fitting agent.

*Fourthly*, Lord Macaulay says that no inference should be drawn from the abrupt and uncourteous style of the note or the conjunction of the obscure Mr Walden with the King's personal friend and the lord-proprietor of a pro-

<sup>1</sup> DUKE OF SOMERSET'S Letter to WARRE, *ante*, p. 11.



vince, because the Marquess of Wellesley, when Governor of India, addressed his brother General Wellesley, in official communications, with the formality of "Sir."

It would have been well, if, before using this argument, Lord Macaulay had observed the tone of the Duke of Somerset's letters to Sir Francis Warre, and asked himself whether those of Lord Sunderland to William Penn were likely to be less courteous? Let the reader picture to himself the terms in which Lord Sunderland would have announced to the Duke of Somerset, and to Sir Francis Warre, that the King's personal and confidential friend had condescended to take upon himself to "bustle and stir about," to "ease" and assist" the Somersetshire Baronet, and the profuse expressions of gratitude which he would have been charged to express on the part of the Maids of Honour, and then let him turn to the letter to "Mr Penne," and ask himself whether the language is most adapted to William Penn or to George Penne?

*Fifthly*, Lord Macaulay has one argument left, and one only.

It is, that such is his opinion, and such shall

be his opinion. This is an argument which it is impossible to answer. It is the same reasoning which was considered by Lord Peter to be conclusive in the great debate between himself and his brothers, Martin and Jack, when they respectfully submitted that his brown loaf was not mutton. "Look ye, gentlemen, cries Peter "in a rage, to convince you what a couple of "blind, positive, ignorant, wilful puppies you "are, I will use but this plain argument : By "G—, it is good true natural mutton as any in "Leadenhall market, and confound you both "eternally if you offer to believe otherwise."<sup>1</sup>

## II.

THE Second charge brought by Lord Macaulay against William Penn is of a nature singularly revolting.

Of the many judicial murders which disgraced that period of our history, none were more infamous or more cruel than those of which Cornish and Gaunt were the victims. The former

<sup>1</sup> *Tale of a Tub*, p. 120.

was executed with all the detailed horrors of the sentence in cases of high treason, and the latter was burnt alive. The executions took place on the same day. William Penn was present at both. Lord Macaulay says: "William Penn, *for whom exhibitions, which humane men generally avoid, seem to have had a strong attraction*, hastened from Cheapside, where he had seen Cornish hanged, to Tyburn, in order to see Elizabeth Gaunt burned."<sup>1</sup>

This insinuation against Penn's well-known character for humanity would deserve nothing but contempt, did it come from any one less eminent than Lord Macaulay. It was by the constancy of Penn when the nerve of Calamy had failed, and he had refused to accompany Cornish to the scaffold,<sup>2</sup> that his memory was rescued from the slander that he died mad

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 665, edit. 1849; "stances as he was in."—*Life of Calamy*, vol. i. p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> "He often visited him in Newgate, and, being earnestly pressed to go along with him to the place of execution, was not able to do it, but freely told him 'he would as well die with him as bear the sight of his death in such circum- It may be observed that the nephew of Calamy, afterwards the celebrated Nonconformist divine, was present at the execution of Cornish as well as Penn, and has left an account of it.—*Life of Calamy*, *ub. supra*."

or drunk.<sup>1</sup> It is from Penn that we know the meek courage with which Elizabeth Gaunt submitted to her cruel martyrdom<sup>2</sup>—Juxon stood

<sup>1</sup> "He was drunk, they said, "or out of his mind, when he "was turned off."—MACAULAY, ii. 247, 1858.

"Cornish at his death asserted his innocence with great vehemence, and with some acrimony complained of the methods taken to destroy him; and so they gave it out that he died in a fit of fury. But Pen, who saw the execution, said to me, there appeared nothing but a just indignation that innocence might very naturally give."—BURNETT, iii. 61.

<sup>2</sup> "She died with a constancy, even to cheerfulness, that struck all that saw it. She said, charity was a part of her religion as well as faith. This, at worst, was the feeding an enemy; so she hoped she had her reward with him for whose sake she did this service, how unworthy soever the person was that made so ill a return for it. She rejoiced that God had honoured her to be the first that suffered by fire in this reign, and that her suffering was a martyrdom for that religion which was all love. Pen the Quaker told me he saw

"her die. She laid the straw about her for burning her speedily, and behaved herself in such a manner that all the spectators melted in tears."—BURNETT, iii. 58.

"There is daily inquisition for those engaged in the late plots, some die denying, as Alderman Cornish, others confessing, but justifying.

"Cornish died last sixth day in Cheapside, for being at the meeting that Lord Russell died for, but denied it most vehemently to the last. A woman, one Gaunt of Wapping, of Dr Moore's acquaintance, was burned the same day at Tyburn for the high treason of hiding one of Monmouth's army; and the man saved came in [as witness] against her. She died composedly and fearless, interpreting the cause of her death God's cause. Many more to be hanged, great and small. It is a day to be wise—I long to be with you, but the eternal God do as he pleases. O! be watchful; fear and sanctify the Lord in your hearts."—PENN to HARRISON, Oct. 1685; quoted in JANNEY's *Life of Penn.*

by Charles the First at Whitehall—Tillotson and Burnett received the last words of Lord Russell on the scaffold in Lincoln's Inn Fields.<sup>1</sup> History, sacred and profane, affords other instances of fidelity even to the foot of the Cross. Were all these moved only by "the strong attractions" of exhibitions which humane men generally "avoid?" If not, what right has Lord Macaulay to cast so foul an aspersion upon a man whose memory has been honoured for humanity—who would not shed blood even in a lawful quarrel—whose long life is unstained by any act of cruelty—and who, in countless instances, interposed to rescue the innocent victims of a tyrannical Government?

<sup>1</sup> BURNETT, ii. 377. The reluctance with which Burnett performed this duty, his meanness, falsehood, and cowardice, and the abject manner in which he deprecated the displeasure of the King, are shown in a striking manner in a letter which he wrote at this time to Mr Brisbane, recently published in Mr NAPIER'S *Memoirs of Dundee* vol. i. p. 46.

## III.

ON the 4th of April 1687, the King issued his “Declaration for Liberty of Conscience;” or, as Lord Macaulay prefers to call it, “The Memorable Declaration of Indulgence.”

This celebrated State Paper well deserves a careful perusal. It sets forth concisely the great principle “that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of mere religion;” that all attempts to that end are contrary to the intent of Government—destroy trade—depopulate the countries in which they are practised—and, finally, never obtain the end to which they are employed.”

That “after all the frequent and pressing endeavours used in each of the last four reigns to reduce this kingdom to an exact conformity in religion, it was visible the success had not answered the design, and that the difficulty was invincible.”

These are sentences which might have come from the pen of Locke, and the truth of which



was tardily acknowledged nearly a century and a half afterwards, in the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and of the Catholic disabilities. The King then proceeds to grant his free pardon to all persons convicted and under sentence for “all crimes and things by them committed contrary to the penal laws formerly made relating to religion, and the profession or exercise thereof.” So far the Declaration was not only wise and just, but it was strictly in accordance with law. The power of the Crown to pardon such offences has never been disputed. But James went further; he added the following fatal words: “We do likewise declare, That it is our royal will and pleasure that from henceforth the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, for not coming to church, or not receiving the Sacrament, or for any other non-conformity to the Religion Established, or for or by reason of the exercise of religion, in any manner whatsoever, be immediately suspended: and the further execution of the said penal laws, and every of them, is hereby suspended.”

It might be wise to repeal these laws, but the King had no power to suspend them. The Crown may pardon a murderer, but cannot, without the assent of Parliament, declare that death shall not in future be awarded to him who shall be guilty of the crime of murder. The line which divides the power of pardoning an act when done, from the power of authorising the doing of that act, is, however, by no means so strongly defined as to occasion any surprise that it should be overlooked by honest and even clear-sighted men. It was not, however, overlooked by Penn.<sup>1</sup> He opposed this unconstitutional act in private and in public. In the address of the Quakers presented by Penn to the King, the necessity of obtaining the concurrence of Parliament is distinctly pointed out and insisted upon.<sup>2</sup> Lord Macaulay suppresses these facts,

<sup>1</sup> "As we came from Eatou " what occasion I shall tell more  
 " to Windsor, I freely, amongst " at large before I have done) I  
 " other things, told Mr Penn " came to know the reason of his  
 " that, though I was for liberty " silence, *which was because Mr*  
 " of conscience, I thought the " *Penn had been himself against*  
 " King ill advised to put out his " *putting it out upon so unpopu-*  
 " Declaration of Indulgence upon " *lar a prerogative.*"—LAWTON'S  
 " the dispensing power ; to which *Memoir. JANNEY'S Life of Penn,*  
 " Mr Penn made no answer then, p. 300.  
 " but many years after (upon <sup>2</sup> " We hope the good effects

and speaks contemptuously of the address as “adulatory,” and the speech of Penn as “more adulatory still.”<sup>1</sup> It would be difficult to find either an address or a speech to a crowned head to which the term was less applicable ; a reference to the documents will show the extent to which Lord Macaulay misrepresents the character of both.<sup>2</sup>

The Dissenters were divided as to the mode in which the declaration should be received.

One party braved the distant terrors of Popery, and gratefully accepted the freedom offered by the King. For this Lord Macaulay heaps upon them every vituperative epithet of the English language.<sup>3</sup> The other adopted the Church of England as their protectress, and regarded their present state of subjection, degradation, and incapacity, as a less evil than the more active persecution which they dreaded if

“thereof” [*i.e.* of the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience], “for the Peace, Trade, and prosperity of the Kingdom, will produce such a concurrence from the Parliament as may secure it to our posterity in after-times.” —

See the Address in full. Life of Penn, by BESSE. Folio, i., pp. 130, 131.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. 1858, p. 483.

<sup>2</sup> See the “Declaration,” “Address,” and “Speech” at length ; Appendix, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. ii. p. 223 ; 482, 1858.

Popery were to obtain even toleration. To them Lord Macaulay awards the mede of virtue, wisdom, and moderation.<sup>1</sup>

At this moment the Dissenters held the balance. "Then," says Lord Macaulay, "followed an auction the strangest that history has recorded. On one side the King, on the other the Church, began to bid eagerly against each other for the favours of those whom, up to that time, the King and the Church had combined to oppress."<sup>2</sup>

The Baptists, who then numbered in their ranks the celebrated John Bunyan, were a powerful and important sect, well worth conciliating. Of this sect, William Kiffin, whose grandsons, the Hewlings, had fallen victims to Jeffreys, was the most influential member. "Great," says Lord Macaulay, "as was the authority of Bunyan over the Baptists, that of William Kiffin was still greater. . . . The heartless and venal sycophants of Whitehall, judging by themselves, thought that the old man would be easily propitiated by an alderman's gown, and by some compensa-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 225; 484, 1858.

<sup>2</sup> MAC. ii. 216; 474, 1858.

“tion in money for the property which his  
“grandsons had forfeited. Penn was em-  
“ployed in the work of seduction, but to no  
“purpose.”<sup>1</sup>

Was Penn employed in the work of seduction? Lord Macaulay asserts that he was. Kiffin himself, on the other hand, distinctly says that Penn's interference in the matter was at *his* instance, and with a view to his being excused the honour which it was sought to force on him. Two statements more diametrically opposed to each other cannot be conceived. Kiffin was the person principally concerned in the transaction, and is the only witness with regard to it. His account of the matter is in the following words:—“In a little after, a great temptation  
“attended me, which was a commission from the  
“King, to be one of the aldermen of the city of  
“London; which, as soon as I heard of it, I  
“used all the means I could to be excused,  
“both by some lords near the King, and also  
“by Sir Nicholas Butler and Mr Penn. But it  
“was all in vain; I was told that they knew I  
“had an interest that might serve the King,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 488, edit. 1853.

“and although they knew my sufferings were  
 “great, in cutting off my two grandchildren, and  
 “losing their estates, yet it should be made up  
 “to me both in their estates, and also in what  
 “honour or advantage I could reasonably desire  
 “for myself.”<sup>1</sup>

Kiffin says *he* applied to Sir Nicholas Butler and Penn to be excused. He says not one word of Penn applying to *him*. Lord Macaulay asserts<sup>2</sup> that the latter part of the passage “fully bears out” all that he has said, and complains that Mr Hepworth Dixon acts unfairly by terminating his quotation at the words, “but it “was all in vain.”<sup>3</sup> And what does Lord Macaulay do? To *make* the passage suit his purpose, he alters it! He says, “The remainder of “the sentence, which fully bears out all I have “said, is carefully suppressed. Kiffin proceeds “thus: ‘I was told that they (Nicholas and “‘Penn) knew I had an interest that might “‘serve the King,’ &c. &c.”

The words “Nicholas and Penn” are not

<sup>1</sup> ORME, *Life of Kiffin*, p. 85.  
 Exactly transcribed from the  
 copy in the British Museum.—  
 J. P.

<sup>2</sup> MACAULAY, vol. ii. 1858,  
 p. 488, note.

<sup>3</sup> DIXON'S *Life of Penn*, p. 21,  
 edit. 1856.



used in this place by Kiffin : they are interpolated by Lord Macaulay ! And this in the very sentence in which he is complaining that a quotation has stopped short at a semicolon instead of a full stop ! The words “ they knew ” *may* grammatically mean that Nicholas and Penn knew ; but they by no means necessarily bear that meaning. The context shows that Kiffin used them in the sense of “ on savait,” or, “ it was known.” Kiffin employed Penn and his other friends to intercede with the King and his advisers. His application was unsuccessful ; and he is told the reason. By what means can this be tortured into the employment of Penn in “ the “work of seduction ?” Lord Macaulay must have felt that the interpolation he has made was necessary to give even a colour of possibility to such a construction.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It may perhaps be said that these words are in a parenthesis. So they would be if used by Kiffin. When words are introduced which are not used by the author quoted, there are two ways of marking the fact, either by reversing the inverted commas, which is the most usual and correct mode, or by placing the passage in hooks, thus : [Nicholas and Penn]. Marks of parenthesis always mean that the parenthesis occurs in the original passage quoted ; were it otherwise, it would be impossible to indicate correctly the quotation of a passage containing a parenthesis.

Lord Macaulay has given his readers a measure of what he considers honesty. In the character which he has drawn of his great prototype, Burnett,<sup>1</sup> there is no virtue upon which he insists

<sup>1</sup> " Bishop Burnett was a man  
" of the most extensive know-  
" ledge I ever met with ; had  
" read and seen a great deal, with  
" a prodigious memory and a  
" very indifferent judgment.  
" He was extremely partial,  
" and readily took everything  
" for granted that he heard to  
" the prejudice of those he did  
" not like, which made him pass  
" for a man of less truth than  
" he really was. I do not think  
" he designedly published any-  
" thing he believed to be false.

" He had a boisterous, vehe-  
" ment manner of expressing  
" himself, which often made  
" him ridiculous, especially in  
" the House of Lords, when  
" what he said would not have  
" been thought so, delivered in  
" a lower voice and a calmer  
" behaviour. His vast know-  
" ledge occasioned his frequent-  
" ly rambling from the point he  
" was speaking to, which ran  
" him into discourses of so uni-  
" versal a nature, that there was  
" no end to be expected but

" from a failure of his strength  
" and spirits, of both which he  
" had a larger share than most  
" men, which were accompanied  
" with a most invincible assur-  
" ance."—LORD DARTMOUTH'S  
*Character of Burnett*, Preface,  
p. 5.

Lord Macaulay quotes a few words from this note as the testimony of an adverse witness to Burnett's truthfulness ;\* but he omits to state that at the commencement of the second volume of the original edition,† Lord Dartmouth inserted the following note :—" I wrote, in the first volume of this book, that I did not believe the Bishop designedly published anything he believed to be false ; therefore think myself obliged to write in this, that I am fully satisfied that he published many things that he knew to be so ;" and at the conclusion of the History he says,‡ " thus piously ends the most partial and malicious heap of scandal and misrepres-

\* Vol. ii. p. 177.

† Vol. iv. p. 1, Oxford edition.

‡ Vol. vi. p. 168.

more strongly than his honesty. "He was," he says, "emphatically an honest man."<sup>1</sup> In a sub-

"sentation that ever was collected for the laudable design of giving a false impression of persons and things to all future ages." Lord Macaulay also garbles the testimony of Swift. He says: "Even Swift had the justice to say, 'After all, he' [*i.e.* Burnett] 'was a man of generosity and good-nature.'" There Lord Macaulay inserts a full stop; in the original it is a comma, and the sentence proceeds as follows: "and very communicative; but in his last ten years was absolutely party-mad, and fancied he saw popery under every bush."\*

Next to honesty, humanity is the virtue which Lord Macaulay most delights to claim for Burnett; and to maintain his character for it, he suppresses the disgraceful part which Burnett took in the attainder of Fenwick.

That attainder was worthy of the worst days of the Stewarts. Lord Macaulay asserts that William entertained a personal

hatred of Fenwick, because six years before he had failed to uncover and bow as the Queen passed when she held royal authority in William's absence. "But long after her death," says Lord Macaulay, "a day came when he had reason to wish that he had restrained his insolence. He found, by a terrible proof, that of all the Jacobites, the most desperate assassins not excepted, he was the only one for whom William felt an intense personal aversion."†

That day was come. Fenwick had been guilty of treason, but the law could not reach him, as there was but one witness of his guilt, and the statute required that there should be two. It was determined to immolate him, and a Bill of Attainder was resorted to. Burnett, departing from the usual rule which restrains bishops from taking a part in the affairs of blood, led the attack.‡ The bill passed the Lords by a narrow majority. Of a hundred and

\* *Swift's Works*, vol. xv. p. 215. Remarks on Bishop Burnett's History.

† Vol. iv. p. 33.

‡ MAC. iv. 758, 759.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 177; edit. of 1849. Vol. ii. p. 433; edit. of 1858.

sequent part of his History, when Lord Macaulay comes to relate the circumstances which attended

twenty-eight Peers, fifty-five voted against the second reading, and of those forty-nine protested. The third reading was carried by a majority of seven only, the numbers being 68 to 61.\*

Fenwick petitioned the House of Lords to intercede with the King for a reprieve of two days, that he might prepare to die. The House readily granted this very moderate request, and ordered the Bishops of London and Salisbury (Burnett) to present the address to the King. The "humane" Burnett refused. "Their lordships," he said, "might send him to the Tower, but they had no right to send him to Kensington." The indignation of the House at this inhuman refusal was universal. Rochester proposed that Burnett should be taken at his word, and sent to the Tower for refusing to obey the orders of the House; but Lord Scarborough said, he "hoped they would not insist upon doing a hardship to the only man in the House who would think

"it one;" and begged that he might himself be permitted to accompany the Bishop of London. This was agreed to, "with the utmost contempt for the reverend Prelate."—Note by Lord Dartmouth, who was present. BURNETT, iv. 341.

Lord Macaulay, who affects to give a detailed account of these transactions, wholly omits any allusion to this incident, and makes no reference to Lord Dartmouth's note.—See vol. iv. p. 768.† If it be true, as Lord Macaulay implies, that William closed his ears to the cries for mercy which rose around him from feelings of "intense personal aversion"‡—that he added to this the hypocrisy of pretending to consider that "the matter was one of public concern, and that he must deliberate with his ministers"—before he decided on the petition which the wife of Fenwick offered at his feet§—that the last bill of attainder by which any person has suffered death in England,|| was passed in order

\* MAC. iv. 761.

† Vol. vii. p. 402; 1858.

‡ MAC. iv. 34

§ Vol. iv. p. 766.

|| Vol. iv. p. 769.

upon the dismissal from office of Marlborough in January 1792, he adds in a note the following words : “ About the dismissal of Marlborough, Burnett wrote at the same time,<sup>1</sup> ‘ The King “ ‘ said to myself upon it that he had very good “ ‘ reason to believe that he had made his peace “ ‘ with King James, and was engaged in a cor- “ ‘ respondence with France. It is certain he “ ‘ was doing all he could to set on a faction in “ ‘ the army and the nation against the Dutch.’ ”

Lord Macaulay then proceeds as follows :— “ It is curious to compare this plain tale, told “ while the facts were recent, with *the shuffling “ narrative which Burnett prepared for the “ public eye many years later, when Marlbo- “ rough was closely united to the Whigs, and “ was rendering great and splendid services “ to the country.*”<sup>2</sup> The “ shuffling narrative,”

that he might gratify the feelings of revenge, which he entertained for a trifling slight offered six years previously, by bringing to the block, by means of an *ex post facto* law, a man who could not be reached by the arm of justice ;—if this be true, the world has seen no instance of more fiendish malig-

nity. If it be false, no fouler slander ever issued from the press. True or false, what must we think of the moral sense of the historian who passes it over, without reprobation, without comment, almost, it would seem, with approval?

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* 1793.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv. p. 167.



as Lord Macaulay justly calls it, asserts that the original cause of his disgrace arose from a quarrel about the settlement of an income on the Princess Anne ; Burnett deliberately prepared this posthumous falsehood in 1705.<sup>1</sup>

It might have been supposed that when Lord Macaulay discovered this proof of the Bishop's disregard of truth, he would have taken the earliest opportunity to modify his estimate, of Burnett's character ; yet he has permitted it to remain unaltered in every successive edition. We are therefore driven unavoidably, however reluctantly, to the conclusion that, in Lord Macaulay's opinion, there may be circumstances under which it is consistent with "emphatic honesty" to prepare a deliberately false account of a transaction the truth of which is within the knowledge of the writer, and to give that false account to the public under the form of history ! This estimate of what an historian owes to his party may account for some passages in Lord Macaulay's History which otherwise might surprise the reader. Penn was the object of bitter hatred and persecution on the part of those

<sup>1</sup> See BURN. iv. 157 ; Oxford edit.



whom Lord Macaulay seeks to extol. He was faithful in misfortune to those whom Lord Macaulay seeks to degrade. Those simple facts may perhaps account for Lord Macaulay's determination to blacken his character. The passage just cited shows the means which Lord Macaulay thinks may be used consistently with "emphatic honesty."

#### IV.

Truth and fiction are so strangely interwoven in the account which Lord Macaulay gives of the transactions relating to Magdalen College, that the only mode in which they can be disentangled is by a short narrative of the facts and dates, and a reference to the authorities.<sup>1</sup> In the month of March 1687, the Presidentship of Magdalen College became vacant by the death of Dr Clark. The right of election was vested in the Fellows, but no one was eligible under the statutes who had not been a Fellow either of Magdalen or New College. The election was fixed for the 13th of April.

<sup>1</sup> *State Trials*, vol. xii. p. 1.

On the 5th of that month the King issued his mandate, requiring the Fellows to elect one Anthony Farmer to the place of President. A more unfit selection could hardly have been made. Farmer was not a Fellow of either Magdalen or New College, and was therefore clearly ineligible by the statutes. He was, moreover, a man of dissolute life and lax opinions ; some ten years before he had been admonished by the authorities of Trinity College, Cambridge—to which he then belonged—for attending a dancing school, and had confessed the crime. He then committed the graver offence of becoming usher to Mr Benjamin Flower, a Nonconformist preacher, who kept a school at Chippingham, without license from the Bishop. He was subsequently entered of St Mary Magdalen Hall, where he was esteemed to be of a “troublesome and unpeaceable humour.” Leaving the hall, he got himself admitted into Magdalen College, and was observed by the porter to enter the college late at night, his gait and speech both betraying symptoms unbecoming the known sobriety of the university. He was said (this, however, was supported by nothing that could

be considered as legal evidence) to have shared with a profligate gentleman commoner of the name of Bambrigg, and his companions, whose names have not been preserved, and probably would not be worth recording, and even to have encouraged them in certain dissolute proceedings in London. When or where these transactions took place does not appear, nor does it seem that the worst charges were supported by more than mere hearsay, or that Mr Farmer ever had the opportunity of answering them. He appears, however, on one occasion to have spent a whole day at the Lobster in Abingdon with Mr Clerk, Mr Gravenor, and Mr Jennyfar, when he sat up till one in the morning. The next day he went to the Bush Tavern in the same company, and added the enormity of having a quarter of lamb for supper. On his return to the Lobster he kissed Mrs Martha Mortimer, the landlady, with gross rudeness, and she, like a discreet dame, "immediately went out of his company, "and would not come nigh him any more." But the climax of his iniquities was attained on a fatal night when, in company of William Hopkins of Abingdon and some others, he did, "in a frolick

“ and at an unreasonable time of night, take  
 “ away the town stocks from the place where they  
 “ constantly stood, and carried them in a cart a  
 “ considerable way, and threw them into a pool,  
 “ commonly called Mad Hall’s Pool.” He was  
 certainly unfit, as well as disqualified, to be President of Magdalen College.<sup>1</sup> The town stocks, which he treated so contumeliously, would have been a fitter place for him. Whether he deserves the eloquent execration with which Lord Macaulay has denounced him, may be doubted.<sup>2</sup> History unhappily records blacker iniquities than any that have been charged against Anthony Farmer; and abundant as Lord Macaulay’s stores of abuse are, there are limits even to the foul epithets of the English language. It is reckless prodigality to waste so much vituperation on so insignificant an object. There is another and more serious evil. The impetuous torrent of abuse sweeps the offence out of sight. It is impossible to remember that a man is a criminal when one sees him broken on the wheel.

<sup>1</sup> Any one who is curious as to the particulars of the misdeeds of this very worthless person, will find them recorded in the 12th vol. of the *St. Tri.* p. 11 to 15.  
<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 290; iii. p. 21; 1858.

When Lord Macaulay describes the “frolick” at Abingdon in the following words, “He was “celebrated for having headed a disgraceful “riot at Abingdon,”<sup>1</sup> one is tempted to ask how long it is since the days of Tom and Jerry? whether Greenwich fair still exists? and whether sedate men, well deserving of the highest honours that Oxford or Cambridge can bestow, have always frowned so severely on such proceedings? whether, after all, one would not rather like to throw the parish stocks (if such a movable could be found) into Mad Hall’s Pool one’s-self? Nothing is so destructive of sound and healthy morality as visiting petty offences with the punishment due to great crimes. Lord Macaulay almost leads us to forget how mean, profligate, and contemptible a person Anthony Farmer really was. The Fellows of Magdalen acted more wisely: they relied on his ineligibility.<sup>2</sup> They represented to the King that, not being of the foundation, he was incapable according to the founder’s statutes; and they prayed his Majesty “either to leave “them to the discharge of their duties and con-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. p. 21; 1858.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Tri.* xii. 10.

“ sciences, according to his Majesty’s late most  
 “ gracious toleration and their founder’s statutes,  
 “ or to recommend such a person who might be  
 “ more serviceable to his Majesty and to the Col-  
 “ lege.”<sup>1</sup> The only reply they received, after post-  
 poning the election to the last moment at which  
 it could be legally held, was that “ the King  
 “ expected to be obeyed.” The Fellows took the  
 bold course, adhered to their statutes, disobeyed  
 the mandate of the King, and elected Dr Hough  
 as their President. He was sworn and admit-  
 ted. The choice of the Fellows was as judi-  
 cious as that of the King had been otherwise.  
 Hough was a man of character, learning, abili-  
 ty, and courage, well qualified for the coming  
 struggle.

On the 6th of June following, the Vice-Presi-  
 dent and Fellows were cited to appear at White-  
 hall before “ His Majesty’s Commissioners for  
 “ Ecclesiastical Causes, &c.,” to answer for their  
 disobedience to the King’s mandate ; and on the  
 22d of the same month the Commissioners de-  
 clared the election of Hough void.<sup>2</sup>

No further step was taken to force Farmer

<sup>1</sup> *St. Tri.* xii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Tri.* xii. 9, 16.



upon the College ; but on the 14th of August the King issued a fresh mandate, requiring the Fellows to elect Parker, Bishop of Oxford, to the place of President.

On the evening of Saturday, the 3d of September,<sup>1</sup> the King, in the course of his Progress, arrived at Oxford, and on the following day required the attendance of the Fellows. Of this interview the following curious contemporary record is preserved in the State-Paper Office :—

*“ September y<sup>e</sup> 9th /87. .*

“ The Lord Sunderland sent order to the Fellows of Magdalene College to attend the King on Sunday last at 11 o'clock, or at 3 in the afternoon.

“ They attended accordingly, Dr Pudsey speaker.

“ K. ‘ What’s your name? Are you Dr Pudsey?’

“ Dr P. ‘ Yes, may it please your Majesty.’

“ K. ‘ Did you receive my letter?’

“ Dr P. ‘ Yes, sir, we did.’

“ K. ‘ Then you have not dealt with me like

<sup>1</sup> Ath. Oxon. Life of Wood, vol. i. 275, ed. 1848; Ellis’s Correspondence, vol. i. 337.

“ ‘ gentlemen. You have done very uncivilly by  
 “ ‘ me, and undutifully.’ Then they all kneeled  
 “ down, and Dr Pudsey offered a petition con-  
 “ taining the reasons of their proceedings, which  
 “ his Majesty refused to receive, and said : ‘ You  
 “ ‘ have been a stubborn and turbulent College ; I  
 “ ‘ have known you to be so this twenty-six years ;  
 “ ‘ you have affronted me in this. Is this your  
 “ ‘ Church of England loyalty ? One would won-  
 “ ‘ der to find so many Church of England men in  
 “ ‘ such a business. Goe back, and shew yourselves  
 “ ‘ good members of the Church of England, gett  
 “ ‘ ye gone ; know I am your King, and command  
 “ ‘ you to be gone ; goe, and admit the Bishop of  
 “ ‘ Oxford head, principal—what do you call it, of  
 “ ‘ your College ? ’ One standing by said, ‘ Presi-  
 “ ‘ dent.’

“ K. ‘ I mean President of your College. Let  
 “ ‘ him know that refuses it.—Looke to’t ; they  
 “ ‘ shall find the weight of their sovereign’s dis-  
 “ ‘ pleasure.’

“ The Fellows went away, and, being gone out,  
 “ were recalled.

“ K. ‘ I hear you have admitted a Fellow of  
 “ ‘ your College since you received my inhibition ;

“ ‘is this true? Have you admitted Mr Holden  
“ ‘Fellow?’

“ Dr P. ‘I think he was admitted Fellow, but  
“ ‘we conceive—’

“ The Dr hesitating, another said, ‘May it  
“ ‘please your Majesty, there was no new election  
“ ‘or admission since your Majesty’s inhibition ;  
“ ‘but only the consummation of a former election.  
“ ‘We always elect to our year’s probation, then  
“ ‘the person elected is received or rejected for  
“ ‘ever.’

“ K. ‘The consummation of a former election ;  
“ ‘’twas downright disobedience, and ’tis a fresh  
“ ‘aggravation. Get ye gone home, and imme-  
“ ‘diately repair to your chappell and elect the  
“ ‘Bishop of Oxford, or else you must expect to  
“ ‘feel the heavy hand of an angry King.’

“ The Fellows offered their petition again on  
“ their knees.

“ K. ‘Gett ye gone ; I will receive nothing  
“ ‘from—till you have obeyed me, and elected  
“ ‘the Bishop of Oxford.’

“ Upon which they went directly to their  
“ chappell, and Dr Pudsey proposing whether  
“ they would obey the King and elect the Bishop,

“ they answered, every one in his order, they  
 “ were all very willing to obey his Majesty in all  
 “ things that lay in their power as any of the rest  
 “ of his Majesty’s subjects; but the electing of the  
 “ Bishop of Oxford being directly contrary to their  
 “ statutes, and to the positive oath they had taken,  
 “ they could not apprehend it in their power to  
 “ obey him in this matter; only Mr Dobson (who  
 “ had publicly prayed for Dr Hough, the un-  
 “ doubted President) answered doubtingly, he  
 “ was ready to obey in everything he could; and  
 “ Mr Charrocke, a Papist, that he was for obey-  
 “ ing in that.”<sup>1</sup>

At this point begin the charges brought by Lord Macaulay against Penn with regard to this transaction.

Penn had been with the King at Chester, and had accompanied him to Oxford. On the same day on which the angry interview between the King and the Fellows took place, Penn dined in company with Creech, one of the Fellows, who took the opportunity to have a long conversation with him regarding the affairs of the College. This appears from a letter written by Creech to

<sup>1</sup> State-Paper Office, Domestic, James II., 1687, No. 4.

Charlett, another Fellow, dated the 6th of September. For anything that appears to the contrary, this was the first occasion on which the affairs of the College were brought to the notice of Penn, who subsequently expressed to Hough his regret that he had not concerned himself about them at an earlier period;<sup>1</sup> and it was unquestionably at the instance of the Fellows, and in the character of a mediator with the King that he acted; for, on the following day (Monday, the 5th of September), he went to the College, and, after hearing from the Fellows a statement of their case, he wrote to the King, remonstrating with him in bold language, and representing the inconsistency of his conduct with the professions of his Declaration of Indulgence.

Lord Macaulay delights to sneer at Penn as a "courtly Quaker." Who but Penn would have been bold enough to face James in the very moment of his wrath, and to tell him unpalatable truths? With regard to this part of the transaction the evidence is abundant and unexceptionable. The following passages, which occur in letters addressed at the time by Creech

<sup>1</sup> Hough's Letter, *post*.

and Sykes, two of the Fellows, to Charlett, who was absent, are conclusive. The originals are preserved in Dr Ballard's collection of Letters at Oxford, and they have been printed in the *Athenæum Magazine* for April and May 1809.

“On Monday morning, Mr Penn, the Quaker  
 “ (with whom I dined the day before, and had a  
 “ long discourse concerning the College), wrote a  
 “ letter to the King in their behalf, intimating  
 “ that such mandates were a force on conscience,  
 “ and not very agreeable to his other gracious  
 “ indulgences.” — CREECH to CHARLETT, September 6, 1687.

“On Monday morning Mr Penn rode down  
 “ to Magdalen College just before he left this  
 “ place, and after some discourse with some of  
 “ the Fellows, wrote a short letter, directed to  
 “ the King. In it, in short, he wrote to this  
 “ purpose, that their case was hard, and that in  
 “ their circumstances they could not yield obedience without a breach of their oaths ; which  
 “ letter was delivered to the King. I cannot



“ learn whether he did this upon his own free motion or by command, or intercession of any other.”  
—SYKES to CHARLETT, September 7, 1687.

“ The discourse that Penn had with some of the Fellows of Magdalen College, and the letter mentioned in my last, produced a petition, which was subscribed by all the Fellows, and given to my Lord Sunderland, who promised to present it to the King.”—*Same to Same*, September 9, 1687.

Such is the account given by the Fellows of Magdalen themselves in the freedom and confidence of correspondence with each other. It is clear that they regarded Penn in the light of a mediator with the King ; that it was at their instance he interfered in the matter ; that his letter to the King was written at their request, and with their full knowledge, sanction, and approval ; and that their petition was founded upon it. Here the evidence as to the transactions during Penn's stay at Oxford ends. He left the city immediately after writing his letter to the King.

We now come to Lord Macaulay's account of the same transaction.

“The King, greatly incensed and mortified by  
 “ his defeat, quitted Oxford and rejoined the  
 “ Queen at Bath. His obstinacy and violence  
 “ had brought him into an embarrassing position.  
 “ He had trusted too much to the effect of his  
 “ frowns and angry tones, and had rashly staked,  
 “ not merely the credit of his administration,  
 “ but his personal dignity, on the issue of the  
 “ contest. Could he yield to subjects whom he  
 “ had menaced with raised voice and furious ges-  
 “ tures ? Yet could he venture to eject in one  
 “ day a crowd of respectable clergymen from  
 “ their homes, because they had discharged what  
 “ the whole nation regarded as a sacred duty.  
 “ Perhaps there might be an escape from the  
 “ dilemma ; perhaps the College might still be  
 “ terrified, caressed, or bribed into submission.  
 “ *The agency of Penn was employed.*”<sup>1</sup>

This is the first of the several distinct per-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 298 ; vol. iii. p. 29, edit. 1858.

versions of the facts in the narrative given by Lord Macaulay of this transaction.

It is painful to be compelled to use expressions so strong, but the English language contains none less severe by which the statements of Lord Macaulay can be truly designated.

The memorandum in the State-Paper Office fixes the interview between the King and the Fellows as having taken place on the Sunday before the 9th of September 1687—*i.e.* Sunday the 4th of September. Creech's letter to Charlett is dated the 6th September. He speaks of Penn's letter of remonstrance to the King on behalf of the Fellows as having been written "on Monday morning." Sykes, writing on the 7th of September, uses the same expression, and says that it was written "just before he<sup>1</sup> left" Oxford, and "after some discussion with the "Fellows." This letter produced, he says, the petition to the King, which was signed by all the Fellows. The sequence of events is thus proved to have been as follows :—On Saturday the 3d September the King came to Oxford ;<sup>2</sup> on Sunday the 4th he sent for the Fellows of

<sup>1</sup> *i. e.* Penn.

<sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 303.

Magdalen, and had the angry interview with them.<sup>1</sup> On the afternoon of the same day Creech dined with Penn, “had a long discourse concerning the College,” and no doubt solicited his good offices on its behalf.<sup>2</sup> On Monday the 5th<sup>3</sup> Penn went to the College, had a conversation with the Fellows, and wrote a letter on their behalf to the King, remonstrating with him on the injustice of his proceedings, and the inconsistency of his conduct with his declaration for liberty of conscience. On the afternoon of the same day Penn left Oxford.<sup>4</sup>

With these plain facts and dates—with this conclusive proof that Penn acted not as the agent of the King, but on behalf of the College and at the request of the Fellows before him—Lord Macaulay yet ventures to assert that Penn was employed by the King to “terrify, caress, or “bribe” the Fellows into submission, and to represent this as having taken place after the King had “quitted Oxford and rejoined the “Queen at Bath,” and in consequence of the reflections induced by the “embarrassing position” in which he found himself. As may well

<sup>1</sup> *Ante*, p. 303.    <sup>2</sup> *Ante*, p. 306.    <sup>3</sup> *Ante*, p. 307.    <sup>4</sup> *Ante*, p. 309.

be supposed, Lord Macaulay suppresses the fact of Penn's having written his letter of remonstrance to the King, and carefully avoids the citation of any authority. The thing chiefly to be wondered at is, that he should have ventured upon a statement so easily and so conclusively shown to be unfounded.

Lord Macaulay then proceeds: "He" [*i. e.* Penn] "had too much good feeling to approve of  
"the violent and unjust proceedings of the Government, and even ventured to express part  
"of what he thought. James as usual was obstinate in the wrong. The courtly Quaker  
"therefore did his best to seduce the College from the path of right. He first tried intimidation. Ruin, he said, impended over the  
"society. The King was highly incensed. The case might be a hard one; most people thought  
"it so; but every child knew that his Majesty loved to have his own way, and could not bear  
"to be thwarted. Penn, therefore, exhorted the  
"Fellows not to rely upon the goodness of their cause, but to submit, or at least to temporise."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 298, edit. 1858; iii. 30.

At this point Lord Macaulay inserts his sole attempt to produce evidence in support of his charge against Penn ; and of what does it consist ? An anonymous letter ! At the latter end of September or beginning of October 1687, Dr Baily, one of the Fellows of Magdalen, received an anonymous letter, which, “from its charitable purpose,”<sup>1</sup> he conjectured might come from Penn. Baily, as it turned out, was wrong in his conjecture, for, upon inquiry, Penn declared that it was not his.<sup>2</sup>

Lord Macaulay asserts that “the evidence “which proves the letter to be his is irresistible.”<sup>3</sup>

It may with far more truth be said that there is not one particle of evidence to that effect. Lord Macaulay asserts that Penn did not deny that it was his. Penn did deny that it was his, and his denial is recorded by those to whom it was made, and whose interests it concerned.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> BAILY'S Letter, xii. *St. Tr.*, “ten in Hunt's hand, in the margin of this letter, the  
22.

<sup>2</sup> HUNT MS., fo. 45, Mag. Col., “words, ‘this letter Mr Penn  
Oxford; cited DIXON'S *Life of* “‘disowned.’” — DIXON'S *Life*  
*Penn*, edit. 1856, xxvii. *of Penn*, edition 1851, 455, cit-  
ing the Hunt MSS. in Magdalen

<sup>3</sup> Edit. 1858, iii. 30.

<sup>4</sup> “The contemporary account College. Hunt was one of the  
“of these proceedings has writ- Fellows at the time.



This fact, though brought expressly to Lord Macaulay's knowledge, he fails to notice, and relies as evidence (!) on the circumstance that after years had elapsed, after Penn had left England for America, and returned, his mind filled with political anxieties, and his heart torn by domestic afflictions, he either did not know that this letter had been attributed to him in two or three publications, or did not think it worth while to contradict the misstatement. This Lord Macaulay calls "irresistible" evidence to prove the letter his!

Not only is there no evidence to show that Penn wrote this letter, but it is impossible to suggest any motive which could induce him to write anonymously. If he wished to produce any effect, he was certainly more likely to do so by using his name than by suppressing it. Even supposing the letter were written by Penn, it in no way supports Lord Macaulay's statement; nor does it in any way refer to the interview at Oxford.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The anonymous letter will be found printed at length in the 12th vol. of the *St. Tr.*, 21. After some complimentary expressions with regard to Dr Baily, to whom it was addressed, and an assurance of his goodwill to the College, the writer

After some comment on the counsel which Penn certainly did *not* give, Lord Macaulay proceeds :—

“ Then Penn tried a gentler tone. He had an  
 “ interview with some of the Fellows, and, after  
 “ many professions of sympathy and friendship,  
 “ began to hint at a compromise. The King  
 “ could not bear to be crossed ; the College  
 “ must give way ; Parker must be admitted ;  
 “ but he was in very bad health ; all his pre-  
 “ ferments would soon be vacant. ‘ Dr Hough,’  
 “ said Penn, ‘ may then be Bishop of Oxford.’  
 “ ‘ How should you like that, gentlemen ?’ Penn  
 “ had passed his life in declaiming against a hire-  
 “ ling ministry. He held that he was bound to  
 “ refuse the payment of tythes, and this even  
 “ when he had bought land chargeable with  
 “ tythes, and had been allowed the value of the  
 “ tythes in the purchase-money. According to

proceeds to urge a compliance “ a fair beginning of so much  
 with the wishes of the King, or “ aimed at reformation, first of  
 that some expedient should be “ the University, then of the  
 devised to avert his anger, and “ Church, and administersuch an  
 avoid the ruin which was im- “ opportunity to the enemy as  
 pending over the College, the “ may not perhaps occur in his  
 overthrow of which “ would be “ Majesty’s reign.”

“ his own principles, he would have committed a  
“ great sin if he had interfered for the pur-  
“ pose of obtaining a benefice on the most honour-  
“ able terms for the most pious divine. Yet to  
“ such a degree had his manners been corrupted  
“ by evil communication, and his understanding  
“ obscured by inordinate zeal for a single object,  
“ that he did not scruple to become a broker in  
“ simony of a peculiarly discreditable kind, and  
“ to use a bishopric as a bait to tempt a divine  
“ to perjury. Hough replied, with civil con-  
“ tempt, that he wanted nothing from the Crown  
“ but common justice. ‘We stand,’ he said,  
“ ‘upon our statutes and our oaths; but even  
“ ‘setting aside our statutes and our oaths, we  
“ ‘feel we have a religion to defend.’” “ ‘The  
“ ‘Papists have robbed us of University College;  
“ ‘they have robbed us of Christ Church. The  
“ ‘fight now is for Magdalen. They will soon  
“ ‘have all the rest.’ Penn was foolish enough  
“ to answer that he really believed that the  
“ Papists would now be content. ‘University,’  
“ he said, ‘is a pleasant College; Christ Church  
“ ‘is a noble place; Magdalen is a fine building;  
“ ‘the situation is convenient; the walks by the

“ ‘river are delightful. If the Roman Catholics  
 “ ‘are reasonable, they will be satisfied with  
 “ ‘these.’ This absurd avowal would alone have  
 “ made it impossible for Hough and his brethren  
 “ to yield. The negotiation was broken off, and  
 “ the King hastened to make the disobedient  
 “ know, as he had threatened, what it was to  
 “ incur his displeasure.”<sup>1</sup>

Stripped of Lord Macaulay’s eloquent vituperation, the substance of this charge against Penn is, that he attempted to bribe Hough, by the offer of a bishopric, to desert the cause of the College, and to betray those who had intrusted him to defend their rights.

This is a serious accusation, and deserves a careful examination. It is necessary, in the first place, to clear away a little confusion occasioned by Lord Macaulay’s avoidance of dates, and the mode in which he mixes up the conversations which Penn held at different times with the Fellows with the contents of the anonymous letter addressed to Baily.

There were two interviews between Penn and the Fellows. The first took place at Magdalen

<sup>1</sup> MAC., edit. 1858, iii. 31-33.

on the 5th of September, and the second at Windsor on the 9th of October.

With regard to the first, we have the evidence of Creech and Sykes, before cited, that nothing took place that can give the slightest colour to Lord Macaulay's charge, and that it terminated in a vigorous remonstrance addressed by Penn to the King on behalf of the College.<sup>1</sup> We may therefore confine our attention to the interview of the 9th of October. At this interview, besides Penn and Hough, four of the Fellows of the College—namely, Hammond, Hunt, Cradock, and Young—were present. Hough, on the evening of the same day, wrote an account of what took place to his cousin. This letter is as follows :—

*“ October the 9th, at night.*

“ DEAR COUSIN,—I gave you a short account  
“ of what passed at Windsor this morning, but  
“ having the convenience of sending this by Mr  
“ Charlett, I fancy you will be well enough sa-  
“ tisfied to hear our discourse with Mr Penn  
“ more at large.

“ He was, in all, about three hours in our

<sup>1</sup> See p. 307.

“ company, and, at his first coming in, he began  
 “ with the great concern he had for the welfare  
 “ of our College, the many efforts he had made  
 “ to reconcile us to the King, and the great sin-  
 “ cerity of his intentions and actions ; that he  
 “ thought nothing in this world was worth a  
 “ trick, or anything sufficient to justify collusion  
 “ or deceitful artifice ; and this he insisted so  
 “ long upon, that I easily perceived he expected  
 “ something of a compliment by way of assent  
 “ should be returned ; and therefore, though I  
 “ had much ado to bring it out, I told him that,  
 “ whatever others might conceive of him, he  
 “ might be assured we depended upon his since-  
 “ rity, otherwise we would never have given our-  
 “ selves the trouble to come thither to meet him.

“ He then gave an historical account in short  
 “ of his acquaintance with the King ; assured  
 “ us it was not Popery, but property, that first  
 “ began it ; that, however people were pleased  
 “ to call him Papist, he declared to us that he  
 “ was a dissenting Protestant ; that he dissented  
 “ from Papists in almost all those points wherein  
 “ we differ from them, and many whercin we and  
 “ they are agreed.



“ After this we came to the College again.  
“ He wished with all his heart he had sooner  
“ concerned himself in it, but he was afraid that  
“ he now came too late ; however, he would use  
“ his endeavours, and if they were unsuccessful,  
“ we must refer it to want of power, not of good-  
“ will to serve us. I told him I thought the  
“ most effectual way would be, to give His Ma-  
“ jesty a true state of the case, which I had  
“ reason to suspect he had never yet received ;  
“ and therefore I offered him some papers for  
“ his instruction, whereof one was a copy of our  
“ first petition before the election ; another was  
“ our letter to the Duke of Ormond, and the state  
“ of our case ; a third was that petition which  
“ our Society had offered to His Majesty here at  
“ Oxford ; and a fourth was that sent after the  
“ King to Bath. He seemed to read them very  
“ attentively, and, after many objections (to  
“ which he owned I gave him satisfactory an-  
“ swers), he promised faithfully to read every  
“ word to the King, unless he was peremptorily  
“ commanded to forbear. He was very solicit-  
“ ous to clear Lord Sunderland, and throw the  
“ odium upon the Chancellor ; which I think I

“ told you in the morning, and which makes me  
 “ think there is little good to be hoped for from  
 “ him.

“ He said the measures now resolved upon  
 “ were such as the King thought would take  
 “ effect ; but he said he knew nothing in parti-  
 “ cular, nor did he give the least light, or let  
 “ fall anything whereon we might so much as  
 “ ground a conjecture, nor did he so much as  
 “ hint at the letter which was sent to him.

“ I thank God he did not so much as offer at  
 “ any proposal by way of accommodation, which  
 “ was the thing I most dreaded ; only once,  
 “ upon the mention of the Bishop of Oxford’s  
 “ indisposition, he said, smiling, ‘ If the Bishop  
 “ ‘ of Oxford die, Dr Hough may be made bishop.  
 “ ‘ What think you of that, gentlemen ? ’ Mr  
 “ Craddock answered, they should be heartily  
 “ glad of it, for it would do very well with the  
 “ presidentship. But I told him seriously ‘ I  
 “ ‘ had no ambition above the post in which I  
 “ ‘ was ; and that having never been conscious to  
 “ ‘ myself of any disloyalty towards my prince, I  
 “ ‘ could not but wonder what it was should make  
 “ ‘ me so much more incapable of serving His

“ ‘ Majesty in it than those whom he had been  
“ ‘ pleased to recommend.’ He said, ‘ Majesty  
“ ‘ did not love to be thwarted ; and after so long  
“ ‘ a dispute, we could not expect to be restored  
“ ‘ to the King’s favour without making some con-  
“ ‘ cessions.’ I told him ‘ that we were ready to  
“ ‘ make all that were consistent with honesty and  
“ ‘ conscience.’ But many things might have been  
“ ‘ said upon that subject which I did not then  
“ ‘ think proper to mention. ‘ However,’ said I,  
“ ‘ Mr Penn, in this I will be plain with you, we  
“ ‘ have our statutes and oaths to justify us in all  
“ ‘ we have done hitherto ; but, setting this aside,  
“ ‘ we have a religion to defend ; and I suppose  
“ ‘ yourself would think us knaves if we should  
“ ‘ tamely give it up. The Papists have already  
“ ‘ gotten Christ Church and University ; the pre-  
“ ‘ sent struggle is for Magdalen ; and in a short  
“ ‘ time, they threaten us, they will have the rest.’  
“ He replied with vehemence, ‘ That they shall  
“ ‘ never have, assure yourselves. If they once  
“ ‘ proceed so far, they will quickly find them-  
“ ‘ selves destitute of their present assistance.  
“ ‘ For my part, I have always declared my opinion  
“ ‘ that the preferments of the Church should not

“ ‘ be put into any other hands but such as they  
 “ ‘ are at present in ; but I hope you would not  
 “ ‘ have the two Universities such invincible bul-  
 “ ‘ warks for the Church of England that none but  
 “ ‘ they must be capable of giving their children  
 “ ‘ a learned education. I suppose two or three  
 “ ‘ Colleges will content the Papists. Christ  
 “ ‘ Church is a noble structure, University is a  
 “ ‘ pleasant place, and Magdalen College is a  
 “ ‘ comely building. The walks are pleasant, and  
 “ ‘ it is conveniently situated, just at the entrance  
 “ ‘ of the town,’ &c. &c. When I heard him talk  
 “ at this rate, I concluded he was either off his  
 “ guard, or had a mind to be droll upon us.  
 “ ‘ However,’ I replied, ‘ when they had ours,  
 “ ‘ they would take the rest, as they and the pre-  
 “ ‘ sent possessors could never agree.’ In short, I  
 “ see it is resolved that the Papists must have  
 “ our College, and I think all we have to do is  
 “ to let the world see that they TAKE it from us,  
 “ and that we do not GIVE it up.

“ I count it great good fortune that so many  
 “ were present at this discourse (whereof I have  
 “ not told you a sixth part, but I think the most  
 “ considerable) ; for otherwise I doubt this last

“ passage would have been suspected, as if to  
“ heighten their courage through despair. But  
“ there was not a word said in private—Mr  
“ Hammond, Mr Hunt, Mr Craddock, and Mr  
“ Young, being present all the time.

“ Give my most humble service to Sir Thomas  
“ Powell and Mrs Powell.

“ I am, dear Sir, your very affectionate and  
“ faithful servant,—J. H.”<sup>1</sup>

Here we have the whole of the evidence upon the subject. It is remarkable that the very sentence upon which Lord Macaulay relies to support the charge, contains the most distinct negative of it that language can convey—“ I thank God  
“ he did not so much as offer at any proposal by  
“ way of accommodation, which was the thing I  
“ most dreaded.” Hough’s suspicions were awake; he was ready to take alarm. He feared a compromise, and he rejoiced that no offer towards one was made. There can be no doubt that, though Hough and the Fellows gladly availed themselves of the assistance of Penn, it was a bitter mortification to their pride to be compelled

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Hough*, p. 25.

to seek the favour of a Papist through the mediation of a Quaker. They were all on the watch, and had anything passed which they understood as an offer at accommodation, or still more, if they had suspected that any attempt was being made by Penn to seduce their chosen champion, Hough, from the performance of his duty, it would have been found distinctly stated, and indignantly denounced in this letter. Under such circumstances, is it possible to suppose that if Penn desired to corrupt Hough, he would have offered the bribe in the presence of the very men he wished him to betray? Yet Hough tells us that "there was not a word said in private, Mr Hammond, Mr Hunt, Mr Craddock, and Mr Young, being present all the time."

Lord Macaulay argues that "the latter part of the sentence" [in Hough's letter] "limits the general assertion contained in the former part,"<sup>1</sup> and cites Genesis vii. 23; xlvii. 20, 22, as an authority to prove the unquestionable proposition that the latter part of a sentence may limit the former. But, applied to the case in question, Lord Macaulay's argument involves the absurdity that

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. 32, note, 1858.



Hough must be supposed to have made the most solemn and emphatic assertion of a fact, only for the purpose of directly contradicting himself in the next line—to have in the most distinct language stated that “the thing he most dreaded” had *not* happened, only for the purpose of immediately afterwards saying it *had* happened ! To suppose that a man of Hough’s intelligence should do this, shows to what straits Lord Macaulay is reduced to support his statement.

Nothing can be clearer than that neither Hough nor any of those who were present at the interview ever suspected Penn to be a “broker in simony,” or that he was using a “bishopric as a bait to tempt a divine to perjury.” It was left for Lord Macaulay, more than a century and a half after the events had taken place, to discover his villany, when neither Hough, nor Hammond, nor Hunt, nor Craddock, nor Young, who had their wits sharpened by the sense of wrong, by their aversion to a Quaker, and their hatred of a Papist—nor any other person who had anything to do with the transaction at the time—ever so much as suspected it.

It may be admitted that it is difficult, if not impossible, at this distance of time, to say with certainty what was the intention of Penn in alluding to the possible death of Parker, and consequent vacancy of the See of Oxford. One thing, however, is clear, namely, that Hough never understood Penn's words in the sense which Lord Macaulay attributes to them. Had he done so, even supposing that policy had induced him to suppress any expression of indignation in the presence of Penn, it is impossible to suppose that, in narrating the interview, he would have been silent upon the baseness of the attempt that had been made to corrupt him, and upon his own fidelity to the interests of the College.

This alone is sufficient for the exculpation of Penn, and it is unnecessary to go farther to clear him from Lord Macaulay's charge. It seems, however, not improbable that Penn's design might be to test the earnestness of the men he was dealing with before imperilling himself further by his advocacy of their cause. It is easy to suppose how difficult a part Penn had to play, how much skill and courage was required, and how much danger was incurred, in stepping be-

tween James and the objects of his wrath. He might well be indisposed to incur more of the King's displeasure, without satisfying himself that he was acting for men really influenced by honest and conscientious motives. Hough, however, who has made it perfectly clear that Penn "did" "not so much as offer at any proposal by way of" "accommodation," has left this latter part of the conversation involved in considerable obscurity ; and as Hough's letter is the only evidence on the subject, there it must be left. The case against Penn as to the transactions relating to Magdalen College may be summed up in very few words :—

1. With regard to his conduct at Oxford in September, it is proved by the letters of Creech and Sykes, before cited, that he interfered at the request of the Fellows, with their knowledge, and on their behalf.

2. There is no evidence that the anonymous letter to Bailey was written by Penn, and there is evidence that it was not.

3. All that remains, therefore, is the ambiguous sentence in Hough's letter. It is on this alone that Lord Macaulay's charges against Penn as to

this matter must rest, and against it must be set the unambiguous declaration of Hough, that Penn made no offer of accommodation. It is curious how very small a residuum of fact is left after the charge has been subjected to examination. But such is history in the hands of Lord Macaulay !

## V.

WE shall now have to regard Penn from a different point of view.

Hitherto he has appeared as the personal friend of the King. Whilst peers and privy councillors stood in the anteroom, he was admitted to the privacy of the royal closet. He was the messenger of pardon and mercy ; his word opened the prison doors ; his abode was thronged by suppliants ; and his steps were followed by blessings. He had obtained for Locke (" the most illustrious and most grossly injured " man amongst the British exiles " <sup>1</sup>) permission

<sup>1</sup> MAC., vol. ii. p. 122 ; 1858.

to return to his native land,<sup>1</sup> and even had influence sufficient to recall from banishment a man so obnoxious as Trenchard.<sup>2</sup> He had established a Commonwealth across the Atlantic, on the basis of perfect religious freedom, and had urged the adoption of the same principle at home. He had remonstrated against the unconstitutional powers assumed by the King in his declaration for freedom of conscience. He had opposed the proceedings against the bishops, and urged the King to avail himself of the occasion of the birth of the Prince of Wales to set them at liberty.<sup>3</sup> His was the only tongue bold enough to tell unwelcome truths to his sovereign; and it is some satisfaction to find, that among the many dark blots which stain the character of James, he appears never to have visited this brave and faithful servant with his displeasure. Such was the position of William Penn at the close of the year 1688. But the day was rapidly approaching when all this was

<sup>1</sup> DIXON'S *Life of Penn*, p. *Memoir*. JANNEY'S *Life of Penn*, 292, edit. 1851, and the authorities there cited. 301.

<sup>3</sup> See LAWTON'S *Memoir*. JAN-

<sup>2</sup> DIXON'S *Life of Penn*, p. *NEY'S Life of Penn*, 307.  
322. MAC., iv. 372. LAWTON'S

to change. For the next three years he was to find himself the object of the most unrelenting and vexatious persecution.

On the morning of the 11th December 1688 the King fled from London.<sup>1</sup>

Penn, walking in Whitehall, was immediately arrested, and brought before the Lords of the Council, who were then sitting ;<sup>2</sup> but no charge was made, and he was set at liberty on giving bail to the amount of £6000 for his appearance. He was not, however, allowed to remain long at peace ; for, on the 27th of February following, a warrant was issued for his arrest.<sup>3</sup> Penn immediately wrote to Lord Shrewsbury<sup>4</sup> as follows :—

“ I thought it would look rather foolish than  
 “ innocent to take any notice of popular fame ;  
 “ but so soon as I could inform myself that a  
 “ warrant was out against me (which I knew  
 “ not till this morning), it seemed to me a re-  
 “ spect due to the Government, as well as a

<sup>1</sup> *Ellis Cor.* ii. 345.

<sup>4</sup> PENN to LORD SHREWSBURY,

<sup>2</sup> BESSE, 139. *Ellis Cor.* ii. Mar. (1st mo.) 1689. JANNEY'S  
 356, Dec. 13, 1688. *Life of Penn*, 353.

<sup>3</sup> *Pri. Co. Reg.*, Feb. 27, 1688-9.



“ justice to myself, to make this address, that  
“ so my silence might neither look like fear nor  
“ contempt ; for as my conscience forbids the  
“ one, the sense I have of my duty will not let  
“ me be guilty of the other.

“ That which I have humbly to offer is this :  
“ I do profess solemnly, in the presence of God,  
“ I have no hand or share in any conspiracy  
“ against the King or Government, nor do I  
“ know any that have ; and this I can affirm  
“ without directing my intention equivocally.  
“ And though I have the unhappiness of being  
“ very much misunderstood in my principles  
“ and inclinations by some people, I thought I  
“ had some reason to hope this King would not  
“ easily take me for a plotter, to whom the last  
“ Government always thought me too partial.  
“ In the next place, as I have behaved myself  
“ peaceably, I intend, by the help of God, to  
“ continue to live so ; but being already under  
“ an excessive bail (when no order or matter  
“ appeared against me), and having, as is well  
“ known to divers persons of good credit, affairs  
“ of great importance to me and my family now  
“ in hand, that require to be despatched for

“ America, I hope it will not be thought a  
 “ crime that I do not yield up myself an un-  
 “ bailable prisoner ; and pray the King will  
 “ please to give me leave to continue to fol-  
 “ low my concerns at my house in the country ;  
 “ which favour, as I seek it by the Lord Shrews-  
 “ bury’s mediation, so I shall take care to use  
 “ it with discretion and thankfulness.

“ I am, his affectionate friend to serve him,—  
 “ WM. PENN.”

We now come to Lord Macaulay’s Fifth charge.  
 It is contained in the following passage :—

“ The conduct of Penn was scarcely less scan-  
 “ dalous ; he was a zealous and busy Jacobite ;  
 “ and his new way of life was even more unfavour-  
 “ able than his late way of life had been to moral  
 “ purity. It was hardly possible to be at once a  
 “ consistent Quaker and a courtier ; but it was  
 “ utterly impossible to be at once a consistent  
 “ Quaker and a conspirator. It is melancholy  
 “ to relate that Penn, while professing to consider  
 “ even defensive war as sinful, did everything in  
 “ his power to bring a foreign army into the heart  
 “ of his own country. He wrote to inform James

“ that the adherents of the Prince of Orange  
“ dreaded nothing so much as an appeal to the  
“ sword, and that if England were now invaded  
“ from France or from Ireland, the number of  
“ royalists would appear to be greater than ever.  
“ Avaux thought this letter so important that  
“ he sent a translation of it to Louis. A good  
“ effect, the shrewd ambassador wrote, had been  
“ produced by this and similar communications  
“ on the mind of King James : his Majesty was  
“ at last convinced that he could recover his do-  
“ minions only sword in hand. It is a curious  
“ fact that it should have been reserved for the  
“ great preacher of peace to produce this con-  
“ viction in the mind of the old tyrant.”<sup>1</sup>

This virulent attack Lord Macaulay attempts to justify by quoting a letter written by Avaux to Louis on the 5th of June 1689. It is the sole authority for the passage. Lord Macaulay observes that, “ of the difference between right  
“ and wrong, Avaux had no more notion than  
“ a brute.”<sup>2</sup> But even this very questionable witness does not say what Lord Macaulay puts into his mouth, nor anything approaching it.

<sup>1</sup> MAC. ii. 587 ; v. 218 ; 1858.      <sup>2</sup> Vol. iii. p. 168.

The license of translation which Lord Macaulay allows himself is something marvellous.<sup>1</sup>

Avaux, writing on the 5th of June 1689, from Dublin, where James was then holding his court, informs Louis that important news had arrived from England and *Scotland*. He then proceeds: "Le commencement des nouvelles datées d'Angleterre est la copie d'une lettre de M. Pen que J'ay veue en original." Avaux, be it observed, says not one word from which it can be inferred that Penn's letter was addressed to James: it might or might not be addressed to him. We now come to the "Memoire" which accompanied the letter of Avaux. It begins with the following words, which Lord Macaulay

<sup>1</sup> An amusing instance is to be found, p. 27, vol. iii., edition 1858. Barillon, writing on September 6-16, 1687, says, referring to what was taking place in Ireland, "Il reste encore beaucoup de choses à faire en ce pays là pour retirer les biens injustement ôtés aux Catholiques; mais cella ne peut s'exécuter qu'avec le tems et dans l'assemblée d'un parlement en Irlande." Lord Macaulay paraphrases this passage as fol-

lows:—"The English colonists had already been stripped of all political power. Nothing remained but to strip them of their property; and this last outrage was deferred only until the co-operation of an Irish Parliament should have been secured." So that, in Lord Macaulay's opinion, restoring to a Catholic what he had been unjustly robbed of, necessarily involves the stripping a Protestant of his property!

asserts "must have been part of Penn's letter."<sup>1</sup>  
 "Le Prince d'Orange commence d'être fort  
 "dégoutté de l'humeur des Anglais ; et la face  
 "des choses change bien viste selon la nature  
 "des insulaires ; et sa santé est fort mauvaise."

Here ends everything which, on the widest construction, can be attributed to Penn.<sup>2</sup> The remainder of the paper relates to affairs in Scotland (where Dundee was in arms at the head of the clans<sup>3</sup>), the state of the navy and mercantile marine, and other matters, with which Penn had nothing whatever to do. But can even these words be, as Lord Macaulay asserts, "part of Penn's letter?" Did one Englishman, writing to another, ever use such a phrase as "selon la nature des insulaires," or any equivalent for it? At most it is but the representation of Avaux (who was employing every argument in his power to induce Louis to send men and money to Ireland) of the substance of Penn's communication. But assume that every word of the statement that is made by Avaux is true—admit that Penn

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iii. p. 587 ; vol. v. p. 218 ; 1858. it, are given at length in DIXON'S *Life of Penn*, ed. 1856, p.

<sup>2</sup> The Letter of Avaux, and xxxviii.

the "Memoire" accompanying <sup>3</sup> MAC. iii. 342.

wrote to some one that the Prince of Orange was disgusted with the temper of the English—that the appearance of affairs was changing, and that his health was bad : every word of this was true—every word was notorious ; and why should not Penn write it ? What is there “ scandalous ” or “ morally impure ” ? What is there to justify the charge of being a “ Conspirator,” or of doing “ everything in his power to bring a foreign army “ into the heart of his country ” ? Why should Penn be held up to execration for his attachment to James, when we regard Sarsfield as a hero, and look with admiration on the faithful and chivalrous Dundee ? But the fact is, that it was not Penn, but Dundee, that was writing for troops. At this very time, in the months of May and June 1689, we find, from Lord Macaulay’s own account, that Dundee was sending to Dublin “ a succession of letters earnestly imploring assistance. If six thousand, four thousand, three thousand regular soldiers were now sent to Lochaber, he trusted that his Majesty would soon hold a Court at Holyrood.”<sup>1</sup> It is in reference to this circumstance that Avaux says,

<sup>1</sup> MAC. iii. 342.



in this same letter, to Louis : “ Le Roy d’Angle-  
“ terre à resolu de faire partir incessamment un  
“ secour de mille ou douze cens hommes qu’il a  
“ dessein il y a deja quelque temps d’envoyer en  
“ Ecosse.”<sup>1</sup> This Lord Macaulay omits. It was  
Dundee, not Penn, that was “doing everything  
“ in his power to bring a foreign army in the heart  
“ of his country.” It was by Dundee, not by  
Penn, that James was “convinced that he could  
“ recover his dominions only sword in hand.” It  
was not, as Lord Macaulay asserts, “reserved  
“ for the great Preacher of Peace,” but for the  
terrible Graham of Claverhouse, “to produce  
“ this conviction on the mind of the old Tyrant.”  
Nothing is so easy for an historian as to attribute  
to one man the acts and words of another—to  
put the counsels of Dundee into the mouth of  
Penn—to omit the document he refers to—and  
to leave his readers to accept the narrative  
without examination of the authorities—to re-  
ceive his eloquent fiction as history—and to  
content themselves with marvelling at the in-  
consistency, and pitying the weakness, of human  
nature.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Avaux to Louis.

<sup>2</sup> After all, it is, to say the

## VI.

THE Sixth charge is contained in the following passage :<sup>1</sup>—

“ Among the letters which the Government  
 “ had intercepted was one from James to Penn.  
 “ That letter, indeed, was not legal evidence to  
 “ prove that the person to whom it was addressed  
 “ had been guilty of high treason ; but it raised  
 “ suspicions, which are now known to have been  
 “ well founded. Penn was brought before the  
 “ Privy Council and interrogated. He said, very  
 “ truly, that he could not prevent people from  
 “ writing to him, and that he was not accountable

least, doubtful whether this letter was written by William Penn at all. It appears more probable that the writer was Nevill Penn, “ one of the most adroit and resolute agents of “ the exiled family.” \* His name is spelt indifferently Penn, Pain, and Payne. It must be remembered that the whole charge

rests on a Frenchman’s orthography of an English surname. Nevill Penn was the unhappy man who was so barbarously tortured in Scotland the following year. See Appendix, IV., Letter of the Earl of Craufurd.

<sup>1</sup> MACAULAY, vol. iii. p. 599 ; vol. v. 231 ; 1858.

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\* Mac. iii. 682.

“ for what they might write to him. He acknow-  
“ ledged that he was bound to the late King by  
“ ties of gratitude and affection, which no change  
“ of fortune could dissolve. ‘ I should be glad  
“ ‘ to do him any service in his private affairs ;  
“ ‘ but I owe a sacred duty to my country, and  
“ ‘ therefore I never was so wicked as ever to  
“ ‘ think of endeavouring to bring him back.’  
“ This was a falsehood, and William was proba-  
“ bly aware that it was so. He was unwilling,  
“ however, to deal harshly with a man who had  
“ many titles to respect, and who was not likely  
“ to be a very formidable plotter. He therefore  
“ declared himself satisfied, and proposed to dis-  
“ charge the prisoner. Some of the Privy Coun-  
“ cillors, however, remonstrated, and Penn was  
“ required to give bail.”

Lord Macaulay cites “ Gerard Croese ” as his authority, but without giving page or date, or any guide whatever to the part of Croese, on which he relies. The only passage which I have been able to discover in Croese bearing any resemblance to Lord Macaulay’s narrative, is the following :—

“ While public affairs were thus changed, W.

“ Penn was not so regarded and respected by  
 “ King and Court as he was formerly by King  
 “ James, partly because of his intimacy with  
 “ King James, and partly for adhering to his old  
 “ opinion concerning the Oath of Fidelity, which  
 “ was now mitigated, but not abrogated. Besides  
 “ this, it was suspected that Penn corresponded  
 “ with the late King, now lurking in France  
 “ under the umbrage and protection of the  
 “ French King, an enemy justly equally odious  
 “ to the British King and the United Provinces,  
 “ ’twixt whom there was now an inveterate war.  
 “ This suspicion was followed, and also increased,  
 “ by a letter intercepted from King James to  
 “ Penn, desiring Penn to come to his assistance  
 “ in the present state and condition he was in,  
 “ and express the resentments of his favour and  
 “ benevolence. Upon this, Penn, being cited to  
 “ appear, was asked why King James wrote unto  
 “ him. He answered, he could not hinder such a  
 “ thing. Being further questioned what resent-  
 “ ments there were which the late King seemed to  
 “ desire of him, he answered, he knew not; but  
 “ said he supposed King James would have him  
 “ to endeavour his restitution, and that, though

“ he could not decline the suspicion, yet he could  
 “ avoid the guilt. And since he had loved King  
 “ James in his prosperity, he should not hate  
 “ him in his adversity; yea, he loved him as yet  
 “ for many favours he had conferred on him,  
 “ though he would not join with him in what  
 “ concerned the state of the kingdom. He owned  
 “ he had been much obliged to King James, and  
 “ that he would reward his kindness by any  
 “ private office as far as he could, observing  
 “ inviolably and entirely that duty to the publick  
 “ and government which was equally incumbent  
 “ on all subjects, and therefore that he had never  
 “ the vanity to think of endeavouring to restore  
 “ him that crown which was fallen from his  
 “ head; so that nothing in that letter could at  
 “ all serve to fix guilt upon him.”<sup>1</sup>

It will be observed that the passage in Croese  
 materially differs from that in Lord Macaulay.  
 It was probably cited from memory, and it would

<sup>1</sup> CROESE, Book ii. p. 112. Old Translation, London, 1696. Croese, it will be observed, is silent as to William having had any part in this transaction. He appears to have taken his account from a monthly news-

paper published at the Hague, which contains a similar narrative. See “The General History of Europe, contained in the monthly mercuries, &c., from the original, published at the Hague.”

appear that the narrative of Clarkson,<sup>1</sup> who seems to have derived his information from Besse,<sup>2</sup> was what was present to Lord Macaulay's mind. But it is unnecessary to go at length into this inquiry, for a little attention to dates and unquestionable documents will show that, though this interview between the King and Penn has been repeated by all the biographers of Penn, from Besse downwards, it is altogether apocryphal.

Lord Macaulay places this supposed interview in the spring or summer of 1690, immediately before the King's departure for Ireland, which took place on the 4th of June.<sup>3</sup> Clarkson also places it amongst the events of that year.<sup>4</sup> Mr Dixon states that it occurred "in the spring of 1690, before the King set out for Ireland."<sup>5</sup> Jauney says it took place in 1690.<sup>6</sup> Besse also assigns the same date to this very remarkable interview.<sup>7</sup> Thus we find that all who narrate this conversation between the King and Penn

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> *Life of Penn*, p. 293, Edit.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 140.

of 1856.

<sup>3</sup> EVELYN'S *Diary*, iii. 294 ;

<sup>6</sup> P. 359.

MAC. iii. 600 ; *Gazette*, June 4.

<sup>7</sup> P. 140.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. ii. p. 60.



agree as to the time when it took place. We shall find, however, evidence of the strongest kind to show that it could not have occurred as alleged. Burnett, of whose intimate acquaintance with the transactions of that period there can be no more doubt than of the eagerness with which he would have recorded any circumstance derogatory to Penn, is not only silent, but has this remarkable passage :—" Many discoveries " were made of the practices from St Germain's " and Ireland : but few were taken up upon " them ; and those were too inconsiderable to " know more than that many were provided " with arms and ammunition, and that a method " was projected for bringing men together upon " a call.<sup>1</sup> It is impossible that Burnett could have written thus, had a man so important as Penn been in custody and examined by the King in person. But there is even stronger evidence than this. The registers of the Privy Council show that the proclamation for the arrest of Penn was not issued until the 24th of June,<sup>2</sup> nearly three weeks after the King had left London. After a careful search, I have not been

<sup>1</sup> Vol. iv. p. 83, 1690.

<sup>2</sup> P. C. Reg., 24th June 1690.

able to discover any mention whatever of Penn in those registers during any earlier part of the year 1690. The proclamation was not published in the *Gazette* until the 17th of July; and on the 31st of the same month Penn wrote as follows to the Earl of Nottingham :<sup>1</sup>—

“MY NOBLE FRIEND,—As soon as I heard  
 “my name was in the proclamation, I offered  
 “to surrender myself, with those regards to a  
 “broken health which I owe to myself and my  
 “family; for it is now six weeks that I have  
 “laboured under the effect of a surfeit and re-  
 “lapse, which was long before I knew of this  
 “mark of the Government’s displeasure. It is  
 “not three days ago that I was fitter for a  
 “bed than a surrender and a prison. I shall  
 “not take up time about the hardships I am  
 “under. . . . But since the Government  
 “does not think fit to trust me, I shall trust it,  
 “and submit my conveniency to the State’s se-  
 “curity and satisfaction. And therefore I hum-  
 “bly beg to know when and where I shall wait  
 “upon thee.—Thy faithful friend, WM. PENN.”

<sup>1</sup> Cited in DIXON’S *Life of Penn*, 1851, 344.

It is clear, therefore, that Penn was not in custody until August. On the 15th of that month he was brought up and discharged from custody.<sup>1</sup>

William, as we have seen, went to Ireland in June. He did not return to England until September.<sup>2</sup>

It is unnecessary, therefore, to inquire how far the disgusting charge of falsehood (a charge which Lord Macaulay appears to have a remarkable aptitude for bringing) is supported by his narrative of a conversation which certainly did not take place.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pr. Co. Reg., 15th August 1690. “travelled to London, stopping

<sup>2</sup> MAC. iii. 677.—“On the 6th “at the mansions of some great  
“of September the King, after “lords. William arrived at  
“a voyage of twenty-four hours, “Kensington about 4 P.M. on  
“landed at Bristol; thence he “the 10th of September.”—See  
*Gazette*.

<sup>3</sup> But though this has become a needless inquiry, it is interesting to compare the different views taken by Lord Macaulay and by Mr Clarkson of the supposed conduct of Penn and the imaginary thoughts of William.

#### CLARKSON.

“This defence, which was at  
“once manly, open, and explicit,  
“had its weight with the King,  
“so that he felt himself inclined  
“to dismiss him as an innocent  
“person; but some of the Coun-

#### MACAULAY.

“This was a falsehood, and  
“William was probably aware  
“that it was so. He was, how-  
“ever, unwilling to deal harshly  
“with a man who had many  
“titles to respect, and who was

## VII. AND VIII.

WE now come to the transactions of the year 1691.

At the commencement of that year, Lord Preston and Ashton were tried and convicted for their well-known plot. Ashton was executed. Preston, urged by the terrors of death, and allured by the hopes of pardon, was induced to make a confession. Amongst others, he named Penn as having been concerned in his plot. There is not one particle of evidence to support this charge; but Lord Macaulay, without pausing to consider how infamous was the character of Preston, or the grave doubt thrown upon his confession by the mode in which it was obtained, assumes that it was true.

## CLARKSON.

"cil interfering, he, to please  
 "them, ordered him to give  
 "bail to appear at the next  
 "Trinity term. After this, he  
 "was permitted to go at large  
 "as heretofore."—Vol. ii. p. 60.

## MACAULAY.

"not likely to be a very for-  
 "midable plotter. He therefore  
 "declared himself satisfied, and  
 "proposed to discharge the  
 "prisoner. Some of the Privy  
 "Councillors, however, remon-  
 "strated, and Penn was required  
 "to give bail."—Vol. iii. p. 599.

A proclamation was issued for the arrest of Penn, the Bishop of Ely, and others.<sup>1</sup> Lord Macaulay, again following the errors of the biographers of Penn, introduces a picturesque description of the attendance of Penn at the funeral of George Fox—of his conspicuous “appearance among the disciples who committed the venerable corpse to the earth;”—tells how, when the ceremony was scarcely finished, he heard that warrants were out against him—“how he instantly took flight;”—how “he lay hid in London during some months,” and then “stole down to the coast of Sussex, “and made his escape to France.”<sup>2</sup> There is about as much foundation for this stirring narrative as for the incidents of an Adelphi melodrama.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pr. Co. Reg., Feb. 5, 1690-91.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv. p. 30, 31; vi. 31, 32; 1858.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Macaulay's taste for the picturesque occasionally leads him into errors, which, if committed by another, he might designate by a more severe and shorter word. Schomberg fell at the Boyne, and Lord Macau-

lay thus records the honours paid to his corpse:—

“The loss of the conquerors  
“did not exceed 500 men; but  
“amongst them was the first  
“captain in Europe. To his  
“corpse every honour was paid.  
“The only cemetery in which  
“so illustrious a warrior, slain  
“in arms for the liberties and  
“religion of England, could

Fox was buried on the 16th of January.<sup>1</sup> Penn, giving an account of the funeral some months after, describes the large concourse of people who were present, says that he felt himself easy and under no alarm, and "was never " more public than that day." He appears when he wrote this letter to have been under the impression that the warrants had been issued earlier than they really were, and to have supposed that he had "very providentially" escaped

"properly be laid, was that  
"venerable abbey, hallowed  
"by the dust of many gene-  
"rations of princes, heroes,  
"and poets. It was announced  
"that the brave veteran should  
"have a public funeral at West-  
"minster. In the mean time  
"his corpse was embalmed with  
"such skill as could be found  
"in the camp, and was deposit-  
"ed in a leaden coffin." \*

The fact is, that Schomberg was buried, not in Westminster Abbey, but in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. So far from "every honour being paid to "his corpse," William left the

grave of "the first captain in "Europe" unmarked even by a single line, and so it remained for forty years.

In 1728, Swift, writing to Lord Carteret, says: "The great "Duke of Schomberg is buried "under the altar in my cathe-  
"dral. . . . I desire you will  
"tell Lord F. that, if he will not  
"send fifty pounds to make a  
"monument for the old Duke, I  
"and the Chapter will erect a  
"small one ourselves for ten  
"pounds; whereon it shall be  
"expressed that the posterity  
"of the Duke, naming particu-  
"larly Lady Holderness and Mr

\* Mac. iii. 638, 1855; v. 271, 1858.

<sup>1</sup> Journal of G. Fox, by Armisted, App. 366.



a danger of which he had been unconscious, and to which in reality he had never been exposed.<sup>1</sup> The proclamation for the arrest of Penn was not issued until the 5th February.<sup>2</sup> He did not take to flight ; he never “ stole down to “ the coast of Sussex,” nor did he “ escape to “ France.”

The conduct of Penn was precisely what might be expected from a bold, honest, but prudent man. As on a former occasion he wrote

“ Mildmay, not having the generosity to erect a monument, “ we have done it of ourselves ; “ and if for an excuse they pretend they will send for his “ body, let them know it is “ mine ; and rather than send “ it, I will take up the bones “ and make of it a skeleton, and “ put it in my Registry Office to “ be a memorial of their baseness to all posterity.” \*

Swift's application was in vain, and in 1731 he carried part of his threat into execution, and recorded the filial impiety of the posterity of the great Duke on a small monument,† which he placed over his grave, not far from that on

which a few years later he inscribed the burning words that tell of the indignation at the baseness and ingratitude of mankind which consumed his own heart.

Had the fortune of the war been different—had James regained his throne, and Sarsfield filled the grave of Schomberg—with what glowing eloquence would Lord Macaulay have denounced the ingratitude of the Tyrant !

<sup>1</sup> Penn to Lloyd, 14th of 4th mo. (i.e. June, Penn making use of the old style) 1691.—JANNEY'S *Life of Penn*, 369.

<sup>2</sup> Privy Council Reg., 5th February 1690-91.

\* Swift to Lord Carteret, May 10, 1728. Vol. xvi. 122.

† Swift's Works, vii. 382.

to Lord Nottingham, so he now addressed himself to Henry Sidney.<sup>1</sup>

Henry Sidney was the younger brother of Penn's friend Algernon Sidney, but shared little of his character. Penn had known him from boyhood. He stood high in the favour of William.<sup>2</sup> To him Penn wrote, earnestly denying any participation in the plot, or knowledge of the designs of the conspirators.

“Let it be enough, I say, and that truly, I  
 “know of no invasions or insurrections—men,  
 “money, or arms for them—or any juncto, or  
 “consult for advice, or corresponding in order  
 “to it; nor have I ever met with those named  
 “as the members of this conspiracy, or prepared  
 “any measures with them. . . . Noble friend,  
 “suffer not the King to be abused by lies to my  
 “ruin. My enemies are none of his friends. I  
 “plainly see the design of the guilty is to make  
 “me so; and the most guilty thinking dirt will  
 “best stick on me, to which old grutches, as well  
 “as personal conveniences to others, help not a  
 “little.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MAC. iv. 30.

<sup>2</sup> BURNETT, iv. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Penn to Henry Sidney, JAN-  
 NEX'S *Life of Penn*, 369.

Nor did Penn confine himself to writing ; he sought a personal interview with Sidney, at which he repeated his assurance of his having no share in any plot or conspiracy. Lord Macaulay calls Penn's application to Sidney a "strange communication."<sup>1</sup>

What there was strange in it does not appear very clearly ; and certainly Sidney felt, or at any rate expressed, no surprise. It will be seen from the following letter that Sidney must have received this communication from Penn within less than a fortnight after the issue of the proclamation.

Sidney's letter, addressed to William, who was then at the Hague, is as follows :—

*"Feb. 21, 1690-1.*

"SIR,—About ten days ago, Mr Penn sent his brother-in-law, Mr Lowther, to me, to let me know that he would be very glad to see me if I would give him leave, and promise him to let him return without being molested. I sent him word I would if the Queen would permit it. He then desired me not to mention it to

<sup>1</sup> MAC., iv. 30 ; vi. 31 ; 1858.

“ any one but the Queen. I said I would not.  
 “ On Monday he sent to me to know what time  
 “ I would appoint. I named Wednesday, in the  
 “ evening ; and accordingly I went to the place  
 “ at the time, where I found him, just as he  
 “ used to be, not at all disguised, but in the  
 “ same clothes and the same humour I formerly  
 “ have seen him in. It would be too long for  
 “ your Majesty to read a full account of all our  
 “ discourse ; but, in short, it was this, that he  
 “ was a true and faithful servant to King William  
 “ and Queen Mary, and if he knew anything  
 “ that was prejudicial to them or their Govern-  
 “ ment, he would readily discover it. He pro-  
 “ tested, in the presence of God, that he knew  
 “ of no plot ; nor did he believe there was any  
 “ one in Europe but what King Lewis hath laid ;  
 “ and he was of opinion that King James knew  
 “ the bottom of this plot as little as other people.  
 “ He saith he knows your Majesty hath a great  
 “ many enemies ; and some that came over with  
 “ you, and some that joined you soon after your  
 “ arrival, he was sure were more inveterate and  
 “ more dangerous than the Jacobites ; for he saith

“ there is not one man among them that hath  
“ common understanding.

“ To the letters that were found with my Lord  
“ Preston, and the paper of the conference, he  
“ would not give any positive answer, but said if  
“ he could have the honour to see the King, and  
“ that he would be pleased to believe the sin-  
“ cerity of what he saith, and pardon the inge-  
“ nuity of what he confessed, he would freely tell  
“ everything he knew of himself, and other things  
“ that would be much for his Majesty's service  
“ and interest to know ; but if he cannot obtain  
“ this favour, he must be obliged to quit the  
“ kingdom, which he is very unwilling to do.  
“ He saith he might have gone away twenty  
“ times if he had pleased, but he is so confident  
“ of giving your Majesty satisfaction if you would  
“ hear him, that he was resolved to expect your  
“ return before he took any sort of measures.  
“ What he intends to do is all he can do for your  
“ service, for he can't be a witness if he would, it  
“ being, as he saith, against his conscience and  
“ his principles to take an oath. This is the  
“ sum of our conference. I am sure your Ma-

“ jesty will judge as you ought to do of it, without any of my reflections.”<sup>1</sup>

Such is Sidney’s letter. Now for Lord Macaulay’s paraphrase :—

“ A short time after his disappearance, Sidney  
 “ received from him a strange communication.  
 “ Penn begged for an interview, but insisted on  
 “ a promise that he should be suffered to return  
 “ unmolested to his hiding-place. Sidney ob-  
 “ tained the royal permission to make an appoint-  
 “ ment on these terms. Penn came to the ren-  
 “ dezvous, and spoke at length in his own defence.  
 “ He declared that he was a faithful subject of  
 “ King William and Queen Mary, and that if he  
 “ knew of any design against them he would  
 “ discover it. Departing from his Yea and Nay,  
 “ he protested, as in the presence of God, that  
 “ he knew of no plot, and that he did not believe  
 “ that there was any plot, unless the ambitious  
 “ projects of the French Government might be  
 “ called plots. Sidney, amazed probably by  
 “ hearing a person who had such an abhorrence  
 “ of lies that he would not use the common forms

<sup>1</sup> DAL., ii. Appen. 183.



“ of civility, and such an abhorrence of oaths  
“ that he would not kiss the book in a court of  
“ justice, tell something very like a lie, and con-  
“ firm it by something very like an oath—asked  
“ how, if there were really no plot, the letters  
“ and minutes which had been found upon Ash-  
“ ton were to be explained. This question Penn  
“ evaded. ‘If,’ he said, ‘I could only see the  
“ ‘King, I would confess everything to him  
“ ‘freely. I would tell him much that it would  
“ ‘be important for him to know. It is only in  
“ ‘that way that I can be of service to him. A  
“ ‘witness for the Crown I cannot be, for my  
“ ‘conscience will not suffer me to be sworn.’  
“ He assured Sidney that the most formidable  
“ enemies of the Government were the discon-  
“ tented Whigs. ‘The Jacobites are not danger-  
“ ‘ous. There is not a man amongst them who  
“ ‘has common understanding. Some persons  
“ ‘who came over from Holland with the King  
“ ‘are much more to be dreaded.’ It does not  
“ appear that Penn mentioned any names. He  
“ was suffered to depart in safety. No active  
“ search was made for him. He lay hid in Lon-  
“ don during some months, and then stole down

“to the coast of Sussex, and made his escape to  
“France.”<sup>1</sup>

Here we find the hand of the accomplished artist. One of the most able of the political caricatures of Gilray, entitled *Doublures of Character*, contains portraits of Fox, Sheridan, and several other leading Whigs. Beside each head is a repetition so slightly altered that the change is hardly perceptible, yet so skilfully and so completely that Fox is converted into the arch-fiend, Sheridan into Judas Iscariot, Sir Francis Burdett into Sixteen-string Jack, the Duke of Norfolk into Silenus, and Lord Derby into a baboon. Such is Lord Macaulay's treatment of Sidney's letter. Sidney expresses no amazement; he never intimates that he considered Penn's statement to be “something very  
“like a lie.” Lord Macaulay asserts that Penn said, “If I could only see the King, I would  
“confess everything to him freely.” Sidney's statement is that Penn said, “if he could have  
“the honour to see the King, and that he would  
“be pleased to believe the sincerity of what he  
“said, and pardon the ingenuity [ingenuous-

<sup>1</sup> MAC., iv. 30 ; vi. 32 ; 1858.

“ness] of what he confessed, he would freely  
“tell everything he knew of himself, and other  
“things that would be much for his Majesty’s  
“service and interest to know.”

The two statements are widely different. Lord Macaulay’s implies that Penn had some crime to confess; Sidney’s amounts to no more than that Penn would give all information in his power, if he could be allowed to do so directly to the King. And without going the length of Swift, who describes Henry Sidney as “an idle, “drunken, ignorant rake, without sense, truth, “or honour,”<sup>1</sup> it may well be that Penn did not choose to make him the channel of communication for all that he might be disposed to trust to the King himself. In his account of this interview, Lord Macaulay marks two passages with inverted commas, as if they formed part of the document he is quoting. The passages which occur in Sidney’s letter are widely different, as will be seen by a comparison of the two. Does Lord Macaulay consider this “*emphatically honest?*” No one knows better than he does that not one in ten thousand of his readers will refer to Dal-

<sup>1</sup> BURNETT, iii. 264, note.

rymple's Appendix to test his accuracy, or suspect him of passing off his own paraphrase as the copy of an original document.

Lord Macaulay proceeds: "He lay hid in London during some months, and then stole down to the coast of Sussex and made his escape to France."

For this assertion Lord Macaulay cites Luttrell's Diary, September 1691. Luttrell is a favourite authority with Lord Macaulay, who cites his Diary as if it deserved similar credit with those of Evelyn and Clarendon. At the time of the publication of Lord Macaulay's History, Luttrell's Diary remained in manuscript, and a certain mysterious value was attached to it. It has since been published, and a mass of duller and more contemptible rubbish never appeared in six handsome octavo volumes. Of Luttrell himself little is known, except that he was a book-collector, and died in 1732; that he was rich, sordid, and churlish; and that his collection (as described by Scott<sup>1</sup>) "contained the earliest editions of many of our most excellent poems, bound up according to the order

<sup>1</sup> SCOTT'S *Dryden*, i. iv.

“ of time, with the lowest trash of Grub Street.” He was an enthusiastic believer in Titus Oates. His journal is a record of every *canard* of the day. He ponders gravely on the singular coincidence of the names of Green, Berry, and Hill, the three unhappy men who were hanged for the murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, with the old designation of Primrose Hill, where Godfrey’s body was discovered, and which went formerly by the name of Greenberry Hill. He relates the appearance of the ghost of Godfrey with as much confidence and as much truth as the disappearance of Penn.<sup>1</sup> He records the ominous fall of the sceptre from the hand of the statue of Queen Mary at the Exchange.<sup>2</sup> He asserts that Penn was appointed “ Supervisor of “ the Excise and hearth-money.”<sup>3</sup> This was a “ sham ” of some “ coffee-house scribblers that

<sup>1</sup> 1678-79, February. “ About “ proceed in divine service with-  
 “ the middle of this month, on “ out candles ; and ’tis said du-  
 “ a Sunday, about eleven in the “ ring that time the figure of  
 “ morning, a prodigious dark- “ Sir E. Godfrey appeared in the  
 “ ness overspread the face of “ Queen’s Chapple at Somerset  
 “ the sky—the like was never “ House whilst service was say-  
 “ known—and continued about “ ing.”—Vol. i. p. 8.  
 “ half an hour. The darkness “  
 “ was so great that in seve- <sup>2</sup> November 1688.  
 “ ral churches they could not <sup>3</sup> LUTT. *Diary*, Aug. 8, 1688—  
 vol. i. p. 453.

“skulked within the rules of Gray’s Inn and elsewhere.”<sup>1</sup> He says that “the Popish scholars and Fellows of Magdalene College have been found since the turning out to have much embezzled the plate belonging to the College.”<sup>2</sup> Dr Smith, one of the Protestant Fellows, on the other hand, says: “Upon a subsequent search and inspection we found our writings and muni-ments safe—the old gold in the Tower, which we counted, untouched and entire—the plate left as we left it—and nothing, as I remember, missing.”<sup>3</sup> He hears that a French ship has been taken, in which has been found a chest, containing “a strange sort of knife, about two feet long, with the back to chop, and the point turning inwards to rip;” in other words, a common hedger’s bill; and he apprehends that it is “for the destruction of Protestants!”<sup>4</sup> These are fair samples of the “Diary.” No lie was too monstrous, no story too absurd, to find accept-

<sup>1</sup> *Ellis Corresp.*, ii. 210, 211. “matters relating to their own  
“Another of these shams is “trade.” See also Penn’s letter to Popple, 24th October  
“that Mr Penn is made Controller of Excise arising in tea 1688.  
“and coffee, which is also false,  
“though one might think they  
“might be better informed on

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 469.

<sup>3</sup> *St. Tr.*, xii. 79.

<sup>4</sup> December 1688.



ance with Luttrell, provided only it was a Protestant lie or a Protestant story. It is only necessary to refer to any narrative of Penn's life, from Croese and Besse down to Dixon and Janney, to find how he was employed during his retirement from public life. He remained at his usual residence ; he watched over his dying wife ; and he gave to the world some of his best-known writings. Croese says: "From that  
" time Penn withdrew himself more and more  
" from business, and at length, *at London, in*  
" *his own house*, confined himself, as it were, to  
" a voluntary exile from the converse, fellowship,  
" and conference of others, employing himself  
" only in his domestic affairs, that he might be  
" devoted more to meditation and spiritual exer-  
" cises."<sup>1</sup> Besse, in his quaint and simple language, gives a more detailed account of the mode in which Penn employed what Lord Macaulay calls these " three years of wandering and lurking."<sup>2</sup> " He had hitherto," says Besse, " defended himself before the King and Council,  
" but now thought it rather advisable to retire  
" for a time than hazard the sacrificing his inno-

<sup>1</sup> Book ii. p. 102; 1696.<sup>2</sup> Mac., iv. 31 ; vi. 32 ; 1858.

“ cence to the oaths of a profligate villain ; and,  
 “ accordingly, he appeared *but little in public*  
 “ *for two or three years.* During this recess  
 “ he applied himself to writing ; and first, lest  
 “ his own friends the Quakers should entertain  
 “ any sinister thought of him, he sent the follow-  
 “ ing epistle to their yearly meeting in London.”

Of this communication, which Besse gives at length, it is unnecessary to transcribe more than the following solemn words : “ My privacy is  
 “ not because men have sworn truly, but falsely  
 “ against me ; for wicked men have laid in wait  
 “ for me, and false witnesses have laid to my  
 “ charge things that I knew not.” A fate that has pursued him beyond the grave. His biographer then proceeds : “ His excellent Pre-  
 “ face to Robert Barclay’s works, and another to  
 “ those of John Burnyeat, both printed this year,  
 “ were further fruits of his retirement ; as was  
 “ also a small treatise, entitled ‘ Just Measures,  
 “ ‘ in an Epistle of Peace and Love to such Pro-  
 “ ‘ fessors as are under any Dissatisfaction about  
 “ ‘ the present Order practised in the Church of  
 “ ‘ Christ.’ ‘ A Key opening the Way to every  
 “ ‘ common Understanding, &c., &c. ;’ a book so

“ generally accepted, that it has been reprinted  
“ even to the twelfth edition. ‘ An Essay to-  
“ ‘ wards the present Peace of Europe :’ a work  
“ so adapted to the unsettled condition of the  
“ times, and so well received, that it was re-  
“ printed the same year.” “ ‘ Reflections and  
“ ‘ Maxims relating to the Conduct of Human  
“ ‘ Life’—an useful little book, which has also  
“ passed many impressions.

“ Having thus improved the times of his re-  
“ tirement to his own comfort and the common  
“ good, it pleased God to dissipate that cloud,  
“ and open his way again to a publick service ;  
“ for in the latter end of the year 1693, through  
“ the mediation of his friends, the Lord Rane-  
“ lagh, Lord Somers, Duke of Buckingham, and  
“ Sir John Trenchard, or some of them, he was  
“ admitted to appear before the King and Coun-  
“ cil, where he so pleaded his innocency that he  
“ was acquitted.

“ In the 12th month 1693 departed this life  
“ his beloved wife, Gulielma Maria, with whom he  
“ had lived in all the endearments of that nearest  
“ relation about twenty-one years. The loss of  
“ her was a very great exercise—such himself

“ said—as all his other troubles were nothing in  
 “ comparison. Her character, dying expressions,  
 “ and pious end, were related by himself in an  
 “ account he published, and which is inserted in  
 “ the appendix.”<sup>1</sup>

Such is the testimony of cotemporaries—such were the employments, such the afflictions of Penn during the three years which Lord Macaulay would induce his readers to believe were passed in wandering, lurking, and plotting!

## IX.

THE Ninth and concluding charge brought by Lord Macaulay against Penn is in the following passage :<sup>2</sup>—

“ After about three years of wandering and  
 “ lurking, he, by the mediation of some eminent  
 “ men, who overlooked his faults for the sake of  
 “ his good qualities, made his peace with the  
 “ Government, and again ventured to resume his  
 “ ministration. The return which he made for

<sup>1</sup> BESSE'S *Life of Penn*, pp. 140, 141; 1726.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. iv. p. 31; vi. p. 32; 1858.

“ the lenity with which he had been treated, does  
“ not much raise his character.\* Scarcely had he  
“ began to harangue in public about the unlaw-  
“ fulness of war, when he sent a message, earnestly  
“ exhorting James to make an immediate descent  
“ on England with thirty thousand men.”

Lord Macaulay forgets to state that, amongst the eminent men who made his peace with the Government were Locke and Somers.<sup>1</sup> The attachment of such men weighs more in favour of the character of Penn than the animosity of Lord Macaulay against it.

The charge of “ exhorting James to make an  
“ immediate descent on England with thirty  
“ thousand men,” rests upon evidence which will not bear a moment’s scrutiny.

In Macpherson’s “ State Papers,” vol. i. p. 465, is preserved a translation of a rough draught, professing to contain information collected in England by one Captain Williamson, who appears to have been employed as a spy on behalf of James. The value of the captain’s information may be judged of by the fact that, professing to be trusted with the secret thoughts of

<sup>1</sup> DIXON’S *Life of Penn*, 351, 356, 292.

Lord Montgomery, the Earl of Aylesbury, the Earl of Yarmouth, the Earl of Arran, Sir Theophilus Oglethorp, Sir John Friend, Mr Lowton, Mr Strode, Mr Ferguson, Mr Penn, and Colonel Graham, he finds that each of them severally has come to the conclusion that thirty thousand men is the exact number required to replace King James on the throne, with the addition, in one instance, of a "Black Brigade," of a peculiar character; for one of the persons whose sentiments he professes to speak, promises that "he will join " to his regiment a company of clergymen of the " Church of England, who are disposed to serve " as volunteers in this expedition—as are, in fact, " the majority of the clergy who have not taken " the oaths, and also many of them who have " taken them." This is testimony which Lord Macaulay would reject with scorn, were he not reduced to the necessity of adopting it to support his determination to blacken the character of William Penn.

There is nothing to show that Williamson had even the slightest acquaintance with Penn; and there is nothing whatever but this contemptible trash to support Lord Macaulay's assertion.



This brings us to the end of the definite charges brought by Lord Macaulay against William Penn.

I have not noticed the error with regard to Penn's visit to the Hague, because Lord Macaulay has omitted it from the last edition of his History, though without pointing out to his readers the mistake into which he had fallen, or acknowledging his obligation to Mr Hepworth Dixon for correcting it.<sup>1</sup> It is not my intention to follow the sneers or insinuations which Lord Macaulay has scattered through his volumes, or to speculate upon the motives, public or private, which have instigated his conduct. It is enough for me if I give the reader, what he will certainly not find in the pages of Lord Macaulay—namely, the means of testing for himself the truth of each substantial charge.<sup>2</sup> Another passage, however, requires notice, not that it in

<sup>1</sup> Compare MAC., 8vo edit., 1848, ii. 234, and edit. 1858, ii. 493.—DIXON'S *Life of Penn*, 1851, p. 448.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Macaulay's habit of citing a number of authorities, frequently without specifying dates or pages, at the end of a

long history, without giving any clue by which the reader can discover for what facts he considers each to be an authority, renders it a work of great labour to follow him, so as to test his accuracy.

any way affects the character of Penn, but because it has considerable bearing on the degree of accuracy with which Lord Macaulay has investigated the evidence before hazarding very positive assertion. Besse, the earliest biographer of Penn, states that one of the accusations against Penn was "backed by the oath of one William Fuller, "a wretch afterwards by Parliament declared a "cheat and impostor."<sup>1</sup> Lord Macaulay says that this account is "certainly false;"<sup>2</sup> that Fuller was not the informer.<sup>3</sup> It is not very material who was the informer, when the accusations brought were of such a nature that, not-

<sup>1</sup> BESSE, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> MAC. iv. 30, note.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Macaulay thus commences his account of Fuller: "Of these double traitors, the "most remarkable was William "Fuller. This man has himself "told us, that when he was very "young, he fell in with a pamphlet *which contained an account of the flagitious life and horrible death of Dangerfield.* "The boy's imagination was set "on fire: he devoured the book "—he almost got it by heart; "and he was soon seized, and "ever after haunted, by a

"strange presentiment that his "fate would resemble that of "the wretched adventurer "whose history he had so eagerly read. It might have been "supposed that the prospect of "dying in Newgate, with a back "flayed and an eye knocked "out, would not have seemed "very attractive. But experience proves that there are "some distempered minds, for "which notoriety, even when "accompanied with pain and "shame, has an irresistible "fascination. Animated by this "loathsome ambition, Fuller

withstanding the strong disposition<sup>1</sup> to proceed to extremities against Penn, no case could be

"equalled, and perhaps sur-  
"passed, his model." \*

The book referred to by Fuller as having excited his boyish imagination contains no account whatever of the "horrible death "of Dangerfield;" nor could it, for it was published in 1680, and Dangerfield's death did not take place until 1685.† Nor can it properly be said to contain any "account of his flagitious life." It is an avowed fiction, entitled "Don Tomazo, "or the Juvenile Rambles of "Thomas Dangerfield," written in imitation of "The Cheats "and Cunning Contrivances of "Guzman and Lazarillo de "Tormes." The hero of the story is Dangerfield, and it leaves him, where history takes him up, at the period of his introduction to Mrs Cellier.‡ Fuller refers to this book by the short title of "Dangerfield's Rambles," which is used as a heading to the pages. He states that he met with it whilst staying with his stepfather during the summer preceding that in which he

would be of age to choose a guardian for himself (*i. e.* fourteen); and as Fuller was born in September 1670,§ this must have occurred in the summer of 1683. Dangerfield's death took place in the summer of 1685; so that, according to Lord Macaulay, Fuller's imagination was inflamed by an event two years before it happened! The circumstances of Dangerfield's death are well known. As he was returning through Holborn after the execution of part of his horrible sentence, a gentleman of Gray's Inn, of the name of Francis, who was accidentally walking along the street, accompanied by his wife, attracted by curiosity, looked in at the window of the coach in which the prisoner was, and carried away by the feelings of detestation which the sight of Dangerfield naturally inspired, addressed some taunting words to him, which, considering the miserable condition of the wretched man, might well have been spared. Dangerfield re-

\* MAC. iii. 590; v. 221; 1858.

† BURNETT, ii. 235.

‡ EVELYN'S *Diary*, 2d July 1685.

§ FULLER'S *Life*, p. 2, 4.

<sup>1</sup> See the Letters of Lord Carmarthen and Lord Nottingham, Dal. App. ii. 187.

discovered upon which to found any charge that would bear investigation in a court of

plied with still greater insolence. Francis, losing all self-command, struck him on the head with a small cane. The blow injured his eye, and shortly afterwards Dangerfield died—his death, it was said, being attributable to the blow. “The appearance of Dangerfield’s body, which had been frightfully lacerated with the whip, inclined many to believe that his death was chiefly, if not wholly, caused by the stripes he had received. The Government and the Chief Justice thought it convenient to lay the whole blame on Francis, who, though he seems to have been at worst guilty only of aggravated manslaughter, was tried and executed for murder.”\* So far Lord Macaulay is accurate, but Francis was a “Tory;” and Lord Macaulay proceeds as follows: “His dying speech is one of the most curious monuments of that age. The *savage spirit* which had brought him to the gallows remained with him to the last. Boasts of his loyalty, and *abuse of the Whigs*, were mingled with the

“parting ejaculations in which he commended his soul to the Divine mercy. An idle rumour had been circulated that his wife was in love with Dangerfield, who was eminently handsome, and renowned for gallantry. The fatal blow, it was said, had been prompted by jealousy. The dying husband, *with an earnestness half ridiculous*, half pathetic, vindicated the lady’s character; she was, he said, a virtuous woman; she came of a loyal stock; and if she had been inclined to break her marriage vow, *would at least have selected a Tory and a Churchman for her paramour.*”†

Where Lord Macaulay finds either the “savage spirit,” or the “abuse of the Whigs,” or even the “parting ejaculations,” it is difficult to say. The dying speech of Francis was a written paper, carefully prepared, and delivered to the Ordinary at the place of execution, with a direction that it should be published. It is almost wholly devoted to clearing him of the suspicion of having acted with design or pre-

\* MAC. i. 489; ii. 64; 1858.

† MAC. i. 490.

justice, even such as courts were in those days. But if Penn himself can be supposed, notwithstanding Lord Macaulay's assertion, to

meditation in the unhappy affair to which his life was about to be sacrificed, or of having borne any personal malice against Dangerfield. Nothing can be clearer than that he suffered death most unjustly. In no view could his offence be held to amount to murder. Even admitting that Dangerfield's death was caused by the blow he received from Francis, of which there is great doubt, that blow was struck in a sudden gust of passion, upon an accidental occasion, without premeditation, and with a weapon (a small cane) very unlikely to produce a fatal result.

Perhaps Lord Macaulay discovers "abuse of the Whigs" in the prayer which Francis offered up to "God Almighty to pre-serve and bless" King James, who had refused mercy to him, and was about to sacrifice him to the outcry of a "faction." Perhaps he discovers a "*savage spirit*" in the reflection which Francis makes, almost in the words which Shakespeare has placed in the mouth of Wolsey,

"If I had been as zealous in the service of God as my prince, He would not have left me so much to myself as to have permitted me to have fallen in to this unexpected extremity."

Besides clearing himself of suspicion of the guilt of murder, he vindicates the character of his wife, which had been assailed by base and cowardly slanderers. He blesses the Lord that he has lived so as "not to be ashamed to live or afraid to die." "But," he says, "that which most sensibly afflicts me, and is worse to me than death, is, that I cannot suffer alone, but that they have not only raised scandals upon me in particular preparatory to it, but *upon my poor innocent wife*, as if my jealousy of her had been the reason of my animosity to Dangerfield, when I am morally certain she never saw him in her whole life save that fatal moment; and no couple (as hundreds can witness) have lived in better correspondence; and besides that, she is as virtuous a wo-



have known anything about the matter, it is "certainly *true*" that Fuller was one of the informers. Besse may have fallen into some inac-

"man as lives, and born of so good and loyal \* a family, that, if she had been so inclined, she would have scorned to have prostituted herself to such a profligate person ; but, on the contrary (God is my witness), I never had any such thoughts of her, and do as verily believe, as there is a God in heaven, I never had any reason, she having always been the most indulgent, kind, and loving wife that ever man had, and in my conscience one of the best of women." †

What Lord Macaulay finds "ridiculous" in this vindication of his slandered wife by a man on the brink of eternity, I am at a loss to discover. The nonsense about "*selecting a Tory and a Churchman for her paramour,*" is Lord Macaulay's own. Nothing of the kind can be traced in the speech of Francis, which will be found at length in the Appendix. It is

worth perusal, in order to see what Lord Macaulay considers to be "one of the most curious monuments of that age," though the reader will probably be as much puzzled to discover how it is entitled to that distinction as to find either the "*savage spirit*" which Lord Macaulay discerns, or the "*abuse of the Whigs,*" which is so capital an offence in his eyes.

In the first volume of Lord Macaulay's history, p. 488, ‡ there is the following note with regard to Dangerfield : "According to Roger North, the judges decided that Dangerfield, having been previously convicted of perjury, was incompetent to be a witness of the plot. *But this is one among many instances of Roger's inaccuracy.* It appears from the report of the Trial of Lord Castlemaine, in June 1680, that, after much altercation between counsel, and much consultation among

\* *Loyal* ; 1, Obedient ; 2, Faithful in love.

" — Hail, wedded love ! by thee

Founded in reason, *loyal*, just, and pure."—*Milton*.

JOHNSON'S *Dictionary*.

† 11 *St. Tr.*, 509.

‡ Vol. ii. 63 ; 1853.



curacy as to the date or the particular occasion, but the following letter is conclusive as to the main fact :—

“ I have been above these three years hunted

“ the judges of the different T. Raymond, p. 368, who states  
 “ courts in Westminster Hall, that they were divided in  
 “ Dangerfield was sworn, and opinion, *the majority being for*  
 “ suffered to tell his story; but *rejecting the testimony, which*  
 “ the jury very properly refused *was accordingly done.* The pas-  
 “ to believe him.” This is one sage in North’s *Examen* is as  
 of the many inaccuracies, not follows:—“ But then as soon as  
 of Roger North, but of Lord “ Dangerfield advanced, the wo-  
 Macaulay. North refers not to “ man” [*i. e.* Cellier] “ charged  
 Lord Castlemaine’s trial, but to “ with fury upon him with an  
 that of Mrs Cellier, 7 St. Tri. “ whole battery of records, being  
 1043, where Dangerfield was “ convictions, outlawries, and  
 tendered as a witness and re- “ judgments, with *arser de main*,  
 jected. It is the more singular “ pillory, prison breach, and  
 that Lord Macaulay should have “ what not of villany, and al-  
 fallen into this error, and “ most every species of crime;  
 grounded upon it his sneer at “ then by proof showed so many  
 North, inasmuch as the rejec- “ ill things of him, as *the court*  
 tion of Dangerfield is made the “ was soon satisfied to reject him  
 subject of remark in Mr Har- “ as a witness. . . . In fine,  
 greave’s learned argument on “ the fellow was exploded with  
 the effect of the King’s pardon “ ignominy, and sent home to  
 of perjury; and the debate of “ Newgate again, and the pri-  
 the judges on the question of “ soner was acquitted.” \*

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\* *Examen*, p. 263. 7 St. Tri. 1053, Hargreave’s note. Sir T. Raymond’s reports, 369, a note of the case. The Ch. Justice, Raymond, and Nichols, were for rejecting, Jones and Dolben for admitting him; he was consequently rejected. Mrs Cellier’s trial took place on the 11th June 1680; on the 16th Dangerfield was discharged, having obtained his pardon; and on the 23d he was examined on Lord Castlemaine’s trial. See Lutt. Dia. vol. i. pp. 47, 48.

“ up and down, and could never be allowed to  
 “ live quietly in city or country, even then when  
 “ there was hardly a pretence against me, so that  
 “ I have not only been unprotected, but perse-  
 “ cuted by the Government. And before the  
 “ date of this business which is laid to my charge,  
 “ I was indicted for high treason in Ireland, be-  
 “ fore the Grand Jury of Dublin, and a Bill found  
 “ upon the oaths of three scandalous men, Fuller,  
 “ one Fisher, and an Irishman, whom I knew  
 “ not, and the last has not been in England since  
 “ the revolution, nor I in Ireland these twenty  
 “ years, nor do I so much as know him by name;  
 “ and all their evidence upon hearsay too. It  
 “ may be that it is the most extraordinary case  
 “ that has been known; . . . that  
 “ an Englishman in England, walking about  
 “ the streets, should have a bill of high treason  
 “ found against him in Ireland for a fact pre-  
 “ tended to be committed in England, when a  
 “ man cannot legally be tried in one county in  
 “ England for a crime committed in another.  
 “ And the others are at ease that were accused  
 “ for the same fault, *and that Fuller is na-*  
 “ *tionally staged and censured for an impostor*

“ *that was the chief of my accusers; my estate*  
 “ *in Ireland is, notwithstanding, lately put up*  
 “ *among the estates of outlaws, to be leased*  
 “ *for the Crown, and the collector of the hun-*  
 “ *dred where it lies ordered to seize my rents,*  
 “ *and lease it in the name of the Govern-*  
 “ *ment, and yet though I am not convicted or*  
 “ *outlawed.*” . . . .

“ I know mine enemies, and their true charac-  
 “ ter and history, and their intrinsic value to this  
 “ or other Governments. I commit them to  
 “ time, with my own conduct and afflictions.”<sup>1</sup>

I commenced these remarks with Lord Mac-  
 aulay's own record of the judgment of posterity  
 on the character of William Penn—I conclude  
 them with the echo of that judgment which  
 comes back clear and distinct over the broad  
 waves of the Atlantic.

“ There is nothing in the history of the human  
 “ race like the confidence which the simple virtues  
 “ and institutions of William Penn inspired. . .

“ After more than a century the laws which  
 “ he reprobated began gradually to be repealed,  
 “ and the principle which he developed, secure

<sup>1</sup> Penn's Letter to —, 1693. JANNEY'S *Life of Penn*, 379.

“ of immortality, is slowly, but firmly, asserting  
 “ its power over the Legislature of Great Britain.  
 “ . . . . Every charge of hypocrisy, of self-  
 “ ishness, of vanity, of dissimulation, of credulous  
 “ confidence—every form of reproach, from viru-  
 “ lent abuse to cold apology—every ill name,  
 “ from Tory and Jesuit to blasphemer and infi-  
 “ del, has been used against Penn—but the can-  
 “ dour of his character always triumphed over  
 “ calumny.

“ His name was safely cherished as a house-  
 “ hold word in the cottages of Wales and Ireland,  
 “ and among the peasantry of Germany, and not  
 “ a tenant of a wigwam, from the sea to the  
 “ Susquehanna, doubted his integrity.

“ His fame is now wide in the world: he is  
 “ one of the few who have gained abiding  
 “ glory.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> BANCROFT'S *History U. S.*, ii. 381, 400. JANNEY, *Life of Penn.*, 567.

# APPENDIX

TO

LORD MACAULAY AND WILLIAM PENN.

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No. I.

HIS MAJESTY'S gracious Declaration to all his loving  
Subjects for Liberty of Conscience.

JAMES R.

It having pleased Almighty God not only to bring us to the Imperial Crown of these Kingdoms through the greatest difficulties, but to preserve us by a more than ordinary Providence upon the Throne of our royal ancestors, there is nothing now that we so earnestly desire as to establish our Government on such a foundation as may make our subjects happy, and unite them to us by inclination as well as duty, which we think may be done by no means so effectually as by granting to them the free exercise of their religion for the time to come ; and add that to the perfect enjoyment of their property, which has never been in any case invaded by us since our coming to the Crown—which being the two things men value most, shall

ever be preserved in these Kingdoms, during our reign over them, as the truest methods of their peace and our glory. We cannot but heartily wish, as it will easily be believed, that all the people of our dominions were members of the Catholick Church ; yet we humbly thank Almighty God it is, and hath of long time been our constant desire and opinion (which, upon diverse occasions we have declared), that conscience ought not to be constrained, nor people forced in matters of mere religion. It has ever been directly contrary to our inclination, as we think it is to the interest of Government, which it destroys by spoiling trade, depopulating countries, and discouraging strangers ; and, finally, that it never obtained the end for which it was employed. And in this we are the more confirmed by the reflections we have made upon the conduct of the four last reigns ; for after all the frequent and pressing endeavours that were used in each of them to reduce this kingdom to an exact conformity in religion, it is visible the success has not answered the design, and that the difficulty is invincible. We, therefore, out of our princely care and affection unto all our loving subjects, that they may live at ease and quiet, and for the increase of trade and encouragement of strangers, have thought fit, by virtue of our royal prerogative, to issue forth this our royal Declaration of Indulgence, making no doubt of the concurrence of our two Houses of Parliament, when we shall think it convenient for them to meet.

In the first place, we do declare that we shall protect and maintain our arch-bishops, bishops, and clergy, and all other our subjects of the Church of England, in the free exercise of their religion, as by law established, and in the quiet and full enjoyment of all their pos-



sessions, without any molestation or disturbance whatsoever.

We do likewise declare, that it is our Royal will and pleasure that from henceforth the execution of all and all manner of penal laws in matters ecclesiastical, for not coming to Church, or not receiving the Sacrament, or for any other non-conformity to the religion established, or for or by reason of the exercise of religion in any manner whatsoever, be immediately suspended ; and the further execution of the said penal laws, and every of them is hereby suspended.

And to the end that by the liberty hereby granted, the peace and security of our Government in the practice thereof may not be endangered, we have thought fit, and do hereby strictly charge and command all our loving subjects, that, as we do freely give them leave to meet and serve God after their own way and manner, be it in private houses or in places purposely hired or built for that use, so that they take especial care that nothing be preached or taught among them which may any ways tend to alienate the hearts of our people from us or our Government ; and that their meetings and assemblies be peaceably, openly, and publicly held, and all persons freely admitted to them ; and that they do signify and make known to some one or more of the next justices of the peace what place or places they set apart for those uses.

And that all our subjects may enjoy such their religious assemblies, with greater assurance and protection, we have thought it requisite, and do hereby command, that no disturbance of any kind be made or given to them, under pain of our displeasure, and to be further proceeded against with the utmost severity. And foras-

much as we are desirous to have the benefit of the service of all our loving subjects, which, by the law of nature is inseparably annexed to, and inherent in our royal person, and that none of our subjects may for the future be under any discouragement or disability (who are otherwise well inclined and fit to serve us), by reason of some oaths or tests that have been usually administered on such occasions, we do hereby further declare that it is our Royal will and pleasure that the oaths commonly called the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and also the several tests and declarations mentioned in the Acts of Parliament made in the twenty-fifth and thirtieth years of the reign of our late Royal brother, King Charles the Second, shall not at any time hereafter be required to be taken, declared, or subscribed by any person or persons whatsoever, who is, or shall be, employed in any office or place of trust, either civil or military, under us or in our Government. And we do further declare it to be our pleasure and intention, from time to time hereafter, to grant our Royal dispensations under our Great Seal to all our loving subjects so to be employed who shall not take the said oaths, or subscribe or declare the said tests, or declarations in the above-mentioned Acts, and every of them.

And to the end that all our loving subjects may derive and enjoy the full benefit and advantage of our gracious indulgence hereby intended, and may be acquitted and discharged from all pains, penalties, forfeitures, and disabilities by them, or any of them, incurred or forfeited, or which they shall or may at any time hereafter be liable to, for or by reason of their non-conformity, or the exercise of their religion, and from all suits, troubles, or disturbances for the same ; we do hereby give our free

and ample pardon unto all Non-conformists, Recusants, and other our loving subjects, for all crimes and things by them committed, contrary to the penal laws formerly made relating to religion, and the profession or exercise thereof, hereby declaring that this our Royal pardon and indemnity shall be as good and effectual to all intents and purposes, as if every individual person had been therein particularly named, or had particular pardons under our Great Seal; which we do likewise declare shall from time to time be granted unto any person or persons desiring the same; willing and requiring our judges, justices, and other officers, to take notice of, and obey our Royal will and pleasure herein-before declared.

And although the freedom and assurance we have hereby given in relation to religion and property might be sufficient to remove from the minds of our loving subjects all fears and jealousies in relation to either, yet we have thought fit further to declare, that we will maintain them in all their properties and possessions, as well of Church and Abbey-lands as in any other their lands and properties whatsoever.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, the fourth day of April 1687, in the third year of our reign. By his Majesty's special command.

## No. II.

WILLIAM PENN'S SPEECH to the KING upon delivering  
the QUAKERS' ADDRESS.

MAY IT PLEASE THE KING,—

It was the saying of our blessed Lord to the captious Jews in the case of tribute, “Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s, and to God the things that are God’s.” As this distinction ought to be observed by all men in the conduct of their lives, so the King has given us an illustrious example, in his own person, that excites us to it : for while he was a subject, he gave Cæsar his tribute, and now he is a Cæsar, gives God his due—viz. the sovereignty over conscience. It were a great shame then for any Englishman (that professes Christianity) not to give God his due. By this grace he hath relieved his distressed subjects from their cruel sufferings, and raised to himself a new and lasting empire by adding their affections to their duty. And we pray God to continue the King in this noble resolution ; for he is now upon a principle that has good-nature, Christianity, and the good of civil society, on its side—a security to him beyond the little arts of Government.

I would not that any should think that we came hither with design to fill the *Gazette* with our thanks ; but as our sufferings would have moved stones to compassion, so we should be harder if we were not moved to gratitude.

Now since the King’s mercy and goodness have reached to us throughout the Kingdom of England and Princi-

pality of Wales, our General Assembly from all those parts met at London about our Church affairs, has appointed us to wait upon the King with our humble thanks, and me to deliver them, which I do by this Address with all the affection and respect of a dutiful subject.

### THE ADDRESS.

To KING JAMES the Second, over England, &c., the humble and grateful Acknowledgment of his peaceable subjects, called Quakers, in this kingdom, from their usual yearly Meeting in London, the nineteenth day of the third month, vulgarly called May 1687 ;—

We cannot but bless and praise the name of Almighty God, who hath the hearts of Princes in his hand, that he hath inclined the King to hear the cries of his suffering subjects for conscience sake ; and we rejoice that, instead of troubling him with complaints of our sufferings, he hath given us so eminent an occasion to present him with our thanks. And since it hath pleased the King, out of his great compassion, thus to commiserate our afflicted condition, which hath so particularly appeared by his gracious proclamation and warrants last year, *whereby twelve hundred prisoners were released from their imprisonments*, and many others from spoil and ruin in their estates and properties ; and his princely speech in Council and Christian Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, in which he doth not only express his aversion to all force upon conscience, and grant his Dissenting subjects an ample liberty to worship God in the

way they are persuaded is most agreeable to His will, but gives them his kingly word the same shall continue during his reign ; we do (as our friends of this city have already done) render the King our humble, Christian, and thankful acknowledgments, not only in behalf of ourselves, but with respect to our friends throughout England and Wales ; and pray God with all our hearts to bless and preserve thee, O King, and those under thee, in so good a work ! And as we can assure the King it is well accepted in the several counties from whence we came, so we hope the good effects thereof, for the peace, trade, and prosperity of the kingdom, will *produce such a concurrence from the Parliament* as may secure it to our posterity in after times. And while we live, it shall be our endeavour (through God's grace) to demean ourselves as in conscience to God, and duty to the King, we are obliged.

His peaceable, loving, and faithful Subjects.

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### THE KING'S ANSWER.

GENTLEMEN,—I thank you heartily for your Address. Some of you know (I am sure you do, Mr Penn) that it was always my principle that conscience ought not to be forced, and that all men ought to have the liberty of their consciences ; and what I have promised in my Declaration, I will continue to perform as long as I live ; and I hope, before I die, to settle it so that after ages shall have no reason to alter it.



## No. III.

The dying SPEECH of ROBERT FRANCIS, of Gray's Inn, Esq., July 24, 1685, delivered by his own hand to the Ordinary at the place of Execution, desiring the same might be published.

I AM here, by the divine permission and providence of God, become a spectacle to God, angels, and men, for a rash, extravagant, and imprudent act, wherein I do confess I have not only offended against the government and courts of justice, but against Christianity, and even the rules of morality itself. Nevertheless (I hope) not only the Court, but all unbiassed men, from the several circumstances of the fact, are satisfied that I had no malicious intent of doing what fell out, nor had any grudge or personal prejudice to him upon any account whatsoever, more than what all honest and good men could not but have that love the king and the government. The solemn truth of all which I have declared, not only upon the holy sacrament I received from Mr Master, but also that I never knew nor saw him before that unhappy moment, save once at a distance in the pillory at Westminster, and do now, as a dying man, solemnly avow and protest the same. I therefore, I hope, I may boldly say, I am not conscious of any guilt before God as to the malice. However, God in His great wisdom has been pleased to suffer this great calamity to fall upon me, and I hope this His severe chastisement is in order to bring me to Himself, when softer means had not sufficiently done it. All them that know me (I am sure) will do me that justice as to believe I am far from having done it

either wilfully or mercenarily (as most untruly is reported). And that these honourable persons are above the thoughts of such unworthy things, for which they have been as maliciously as falsely traduced upon my score ; I beg their pardon for the scandal I have unhappily been the occasion of, and desire this acknowledgment may be by them accepted as a reparation, since to disown it at this time of my death is all the satisfaction I am able to make them. As to my religion (however I have been represented), there are people that knew me at the University, and since that can be my witnesses, how obedient and zealous a son of the Church of England (by law established) I have been. And these worthy divines that did me the favour to visit me in affliction, will give the world an account (as occasion serves) of my integrity therein ; and if I had been as zealous in the service of God as my Prince, He would not have left me so much to myself, as to have permitted me to have fallen into this unexpected extremity. And as for my morals, the honourable Society of Gray's Inn will answer for me, that in above these twelve years' time I have had the honour of being admitted a member of that Society, I never had any quarrel or controversy with any member thereof ; and all persons with whom I have had conversation, I question not, will give a good character of my innocent and peaceable behaviour. I pray God Almighty preserve and bless his most sacred Majesty, his royal consort Queen Mary, Catherine the Queen-Dowager, their royal highnesses, and all the royal family ; and grant that there may never want one of that royal line to sway the sceptre of these kingdoms as long as sun and moon endure. In the union and love of his subjects, strengthen him that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies, which I am glad to have seen so

much prospect of, and am only sorry I am cut off from seeing my so-much-desired satisfaction of those happy days all his good subjects will enjoy under his auspicious government. I pray God forgive me my sins that have made me unworthy of that blessing. Blessed be the Lord that I have lived, so as not to be ashamed to live, or afraid to die; though I cannot but regret my being made a sacrifice to the faction who, I am satisfied, are the only people that will rejoice in my ruin; for there is no man that loves his Prince, but will lament that nothing less than the blood of an inoffensive man (save in this single extravagance) can satisfy them for the sudden intemperate transport of zeal and passion against one so notoriously wicked and infamous; for I do protest, before Almighty God (before whom I shall immediately appear), that when I went to the coach-side I did not intend so much as to speak to him, or believe I could have had opportunity of so doing, much less of doing him any harm. Neither is it probable I should, with a small bamboo-cane, no bigger than a man's little finger, without any iron upon it, much less a dart in it, as it was most industriously spread abroad to prejudice me in the opinion of the world; for if I had had such a wicked design intentionally, I had a little short sword by my side much more proper for such a purpose. And further, if I had believed or known that I had done any harm to him, I had opportunity enough of escaping afterwards, which I never endeavoured. Now, all these things being duly weighed with their several circumstances, I leave my sad case to the consideration of all sober and charitable men. However, I would not have this to be interpreted as a reflection upon the Court, who, I doubt not, are by this time satisfied (and Mr Recorder did in open Court de-

clare) that in their consciences they did not believe I maliciously designed him the mischief that happened, but that it was purely accidental. But in the strict construction of law, I was found guilty of murder. But that which most sensibly afflicts me, and is worse to me than death, that I cannot suffer alone, but that they have not only raised scandals upon me in particular preparatory to it, but upon my poor innocent wife, as if my jealousy of her had been the reason of my animosity to Dangerfield, when I am morally certain she never saw him in her whole life, save that fatal moment, and no couple (as hundreds can witness) have lived in better correspondence. And, besides that, she is as virtuous a woman as lives, and born of so good and loyal a family, that if she had been so inclined, she would have scorned to have prostituted herself to such a profligate person ; but, on the contrary (God is my witness), I never had any such thoughts of her, and do as verily believe, as there is a God in heaven, I never had any reason, she having always been the most indulgent, kind, and loving wife that ever man had, and, in my conscience, one of the best of women ; nay, I am so far from suspecting her virtue, that she is the only loss I regret on earth, and can freely part with everything else here below without repining, which in all my trouble I have owned before all people, and particularly Mr Master, Mr Ordinary, and Mr Smithies of Cripple-gate, who can all testify those tears and endeared expressions that have passed between us when any of them did me the kindness to visit me in my distress. And I do, from the bottom of my heart, freely forgive the witnesses that swore against me those words I never spoke ; for, as I shall answer at the great tribunal, I said no other or more words than these : How, now, friend, have you

had your heat this morning? For all the ill they have done me, give them repentance, good God! Even for those that have contributed to the shedding of my blood, I pray thee shed thy bowels of mercy!

I do heartily thank those noble and honourable persons, and all other my friends that have so charitably interposed with his Majesty on my behalf (though it hath proved unsuccessful). I pray God, nevertheless, to return their kind endeavours a thousandfold into their own bosoms! Lord, return it to them and theirs! Lord Jesus, receive my soul! Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven. Amen, Amen, Amen.

ROBERT FRANCIS.

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#### No. IV.

At the time when the following letters were written, Mary held supreme authority during William's absence in Ireland. Sir William Lockart was resident in London "for Scots affairs,"<sup>1</sup> and is referred to by Mary in an autograph letter to the Earl of Melvill as the channel of confidential communications.<sup>2</sup> Melvill was "the regular organ of communication between Kensington and the authorities at Edinburg."<sup>3</sup>

"The Queen is of opinion now ther should be nothing  
"said of this conspiracie, because that pople may fly out,  
"if they have anay force to goe too; therefor, all that  
"must be said is, that Annandall is bailed upon his sur-

<sup>1</sup> Aug. 1690. *Lev. and Mel. Papers*, 505.

<sup>2</sup> *Lev. and Mel. Papers*, 459.

<sup>3</sup> MACAULAY, iii. 297



“ render, ther being no evidance against him. *Pray your Grace cause tak grat cair of Navell Pain.*”<sup>1</sup>

The kind of care that was to be taken of Pain appears by the following letter, written during the same month by Lockart to Melvill:—

“ I shold wish to have some meaths to tak mesurs be,  
 “ and that your Grace wold lett me know if you have  
 “ anay considerable presumptions against pople heir;  
 “ thers no dout you may have them from Navaill Pain,  
 “ who all men knous to knou so much of Ferguson and  
 “ thos hear as may hang a thousand; but *except you put*  
 “ *him to the tortur, he will sham you all. Pray you put*  
 “ *him in such hands as will have no pitie on him;* for  
 “ in the opinion of all men he is a desperat cowardlie  
 “ fallou.”<sup>2</sup>

William, who resumed his authority on his return from Ireland in September, showed no more mercy than Mary was disposed to do. On the 10th of December the following letter, direct from the King to the Council sitting at Edinburgh, was read, and ordered to be recorded:<sup>3</sup>—

“ W. R.

“ RIGHT TRUSTY AND ENTIRELY BELOVED, ETC.,—

“ Whereas we have full assurance, upon undeniable  
 “ evidence, of a horrid plot and conspiracy against our  
 “ government, and the whole settlement of that, our  
 “ ancient kingdom, for introducing the authoritie of the  
 “ late King James and popery in these kingdoms, and

<sup>1</sup> *Leven and Melvill Papers, Papers*; Sir W. Lockart to the 516; Lockart to Melville, Aug. E. of Melvill, London, 30th 1690. Aug. 1690.

<sup>2</sup> P. 503. *Leven and Melvill* <sup>3</sup> 10 *St. Tr.* p. 754.



“ setting up an entire new forme of government, whereof  
 “ there has been several contrivers and managers ; and  
 “ Navill Pain, now prisoner in our castle of Edinburgh,  
 “ hath lykways been an instrument in that conspiracie,  
 “ who, having neither relation nor business in Scotland,  
 “ went thither on purpose to maintain a correspondence,  
 “ and to negotiat and promott the plott. And it being  
 “ necessary, for the security of our government, and the  
 “ peace and satisfaction of our good subjects, that these  
 “ foul designs be discovered : Therefore we doe require  
 “ you to make all legal inquire into this mattor ; and  
 “ we have transmitted several papers and documents  
 “ for your information, some whereof have been read  
 “ amongst you ; and particularly wee doe require you  
 “ to examine Navill Penn strictly : and *in case he prove*  
 “ *obstinate or disengenious, that you proceed against him*  
 “ *to torture, with all the rigour that the law allows in*  
 “ *such caises ;* and not doubting your ready and vigorous  
 “ applications for the furdur discovery of what so much  
 “ concerns the public safety, we bid you heartily fare-  
 “ well. Given at our Court at Kensingtone, the 18th  
 “ day of November (1690), and of our reign the second  
 “ year, by his Majesty’s command.

(*Sic. sub.*) “ MELVILLE.”<sup>1</sup>

The Council lost no time in carrying into effect the  
 commands of the King, and how faithfully they obeyed  
 his wishes, appears from the following letter from the  
 President, the Earl of Crawford, to the Earl of Melville,  
 written on the very day on which the torture was in-  
 flicted, and whilst, as he says, his “ stomach was out of

<sup>1</sup> 10 *St. Tr.* p. 754.

"tune," from the horrors he had been compelled to witness :—

EARL OF CRAWFURD to the EARL OF MELVILL,  
11th December 1690.

MY LORD,

Yesterday, in the afternoon, Nevill Penn (after near an hour's discourse I had with him in name of the Council, and in their presence, though at several times, by turning him out, and then calling him in again) was questioned upon some things that were not of the deepest concern, and had but gentle torture given him, being resolved to repeat it this day, which accordingly, about six in the evening, we inflicted on both thumbs and one of his leggs, with all the severity that was consistent with humanity, even unto that pitch that we could not preserve life and have gone further, but without the least success ; for his answers to our whole interrogators that were of any import were negatives. Yea, he was so manly and resolute under his suffering, that such of the Council as were not acquainted with all the evidences, were brangled, and began to give him charitie that he might be innocent. It was surprising to me and others that flesh and blood could, without fainting, and in contradiction to the grounds we had insinuat of our knowledge of his accession in matters, endure the heavy penance he was in for two houres ; nor can I suggest any other reason than this, that by his religion and its dictates he did conceive he was acting a thing not only generous towards his friends and accomplices, but likewise so meritorious that he would thereby save his soule, and be canonised among their saints. My stomach is truly so far out of

tune by being a witness to an act so farr cross to my natural temper, that I am fitter for rest than anything ells ; nor could any less than the danger from such conspirators to the person of our incomparable King, and the safety of his government, prevailed over me to have in the Council's name been the prompter of the executioner to increase the torture to so high a pitch. I leave it to other hands to acquaint your Lop : how severals of our number were shie to consent to the torture, and left the Board when by a vote they were overruled in this. I shal not deny them my charitie, that this was an effect of the gentleness of their nature, though some others of a more jealous temper than I am put truly another construction upon it. Penn does now crave banishment for a year to Holland, under a deep penaltie. I think he would willingly stoop to it that it were under the pain of death ; but I am no agent for him, and only speaks out his own words, which, after his torture, he desired I might represent to my master, for the sake of God, which I no way engaged for ; and only acquaints your Lop : that you have the outmost information in this matter that can be given you by, my dear Lord, your Lops : ever faithfull and affectionate humble servant,

CRAFURD.<sup>1</sup>

Mary was certainly as responsible for these atrocities as her father was for those committed by Jeffreys in the West ; and William, as we have seen, gave distinct and particular orders for their perpetration. In addition to the stain of Glenco, he bears the double brand of being

<sup>1</sup> *Leven and Melvill Papers*, p. 582—Bannatyne Club Publications.

the last monarch of Great Britain in whose reign torture was employed to obtain evidence of treason, and who brought a subject to the block by means of a Bill of Attainder.<sup>1</sup>

Those who wish to form an estimate of the degree of fairness with which Lord Macaulay holds the balance, and awards the judgment of history, cannot do better than study the account he gives of these transactions, and observe his total suppression of the part played by William and Mary, and his denunciation of the conduct of their agent Crawford, who at least felt disgust at the share he was compelled to take.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> MACAULAY, vol. iv. p. 769. *Ante*, p. 294, note.

<sup>2</sup> MACAULAY, vol. iii. p. 700.

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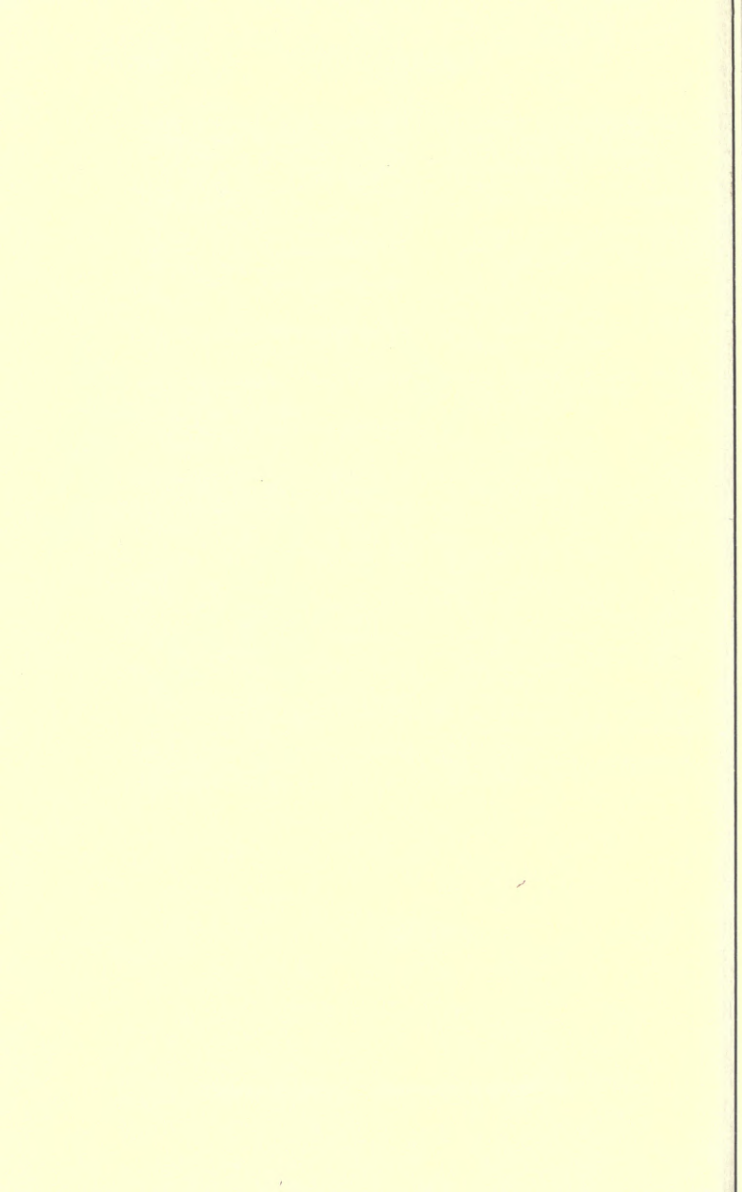
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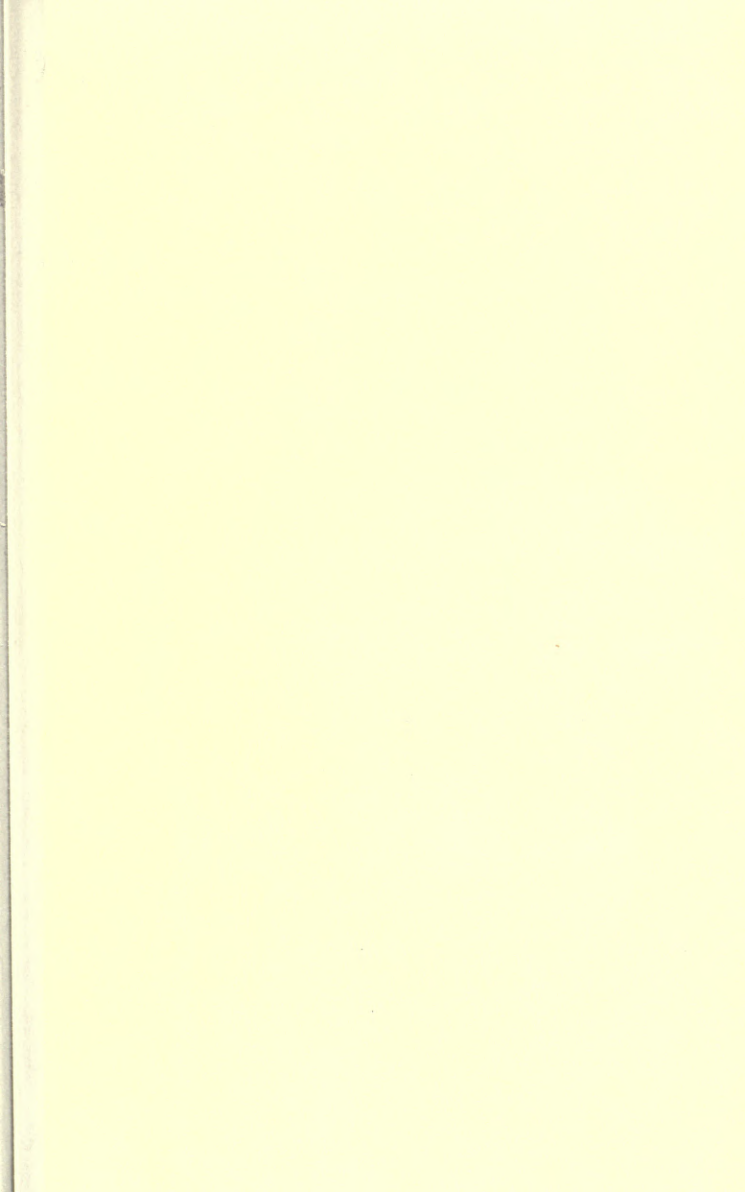
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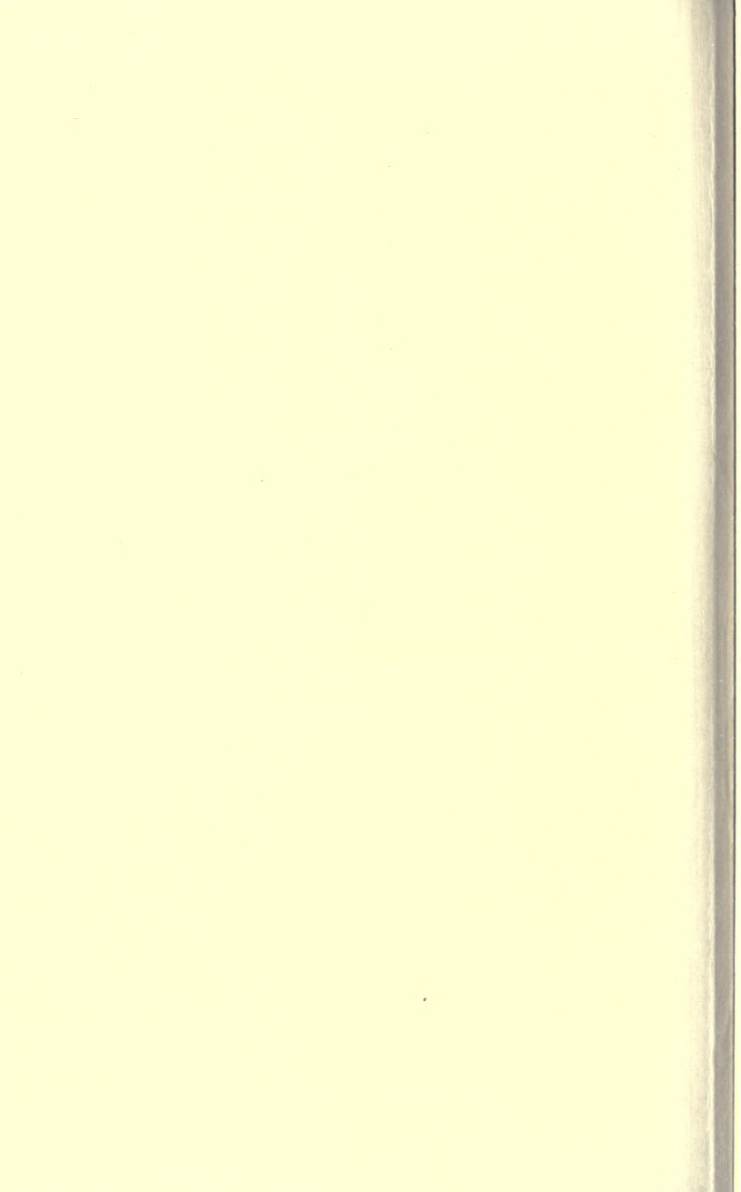
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